TECHNIQUES OF COUNSELING

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Preface

Any technique, procedure, or method that contributes to a better understanding of the individual—understanding by himself and/or others and thus contributes to his better development and adjustment is a guidance tool. Among the instruments important to the student personnel worker in the proficient performance of his functions are tests, inventories, observation reports, self-reports, cumulative personnel records, interviews, case studies, and case conferences. These are the subjects considered in this volume under the general title of *Techniques of Counseling.*

In order that it may serve as a means to more flexible class procedures and richer course content, the book treats almost all the commonly used guidance techniques, apart from the group and placement procedures. Not many teachers, perhaps, will attempt to cover through class discussions in a single course all the techniques considered here; but all, no doubt, will wish the students to read on a variety of techniques. Also, not all teachers will wish to focus on the same techniques in their class work; and, if a teacher considers the special needs and interests of the members of particular class groups, he will not wish to focus on the same techniques in his work with all class groups.

Even though this book deals largely with high-school and college practices in student personnel work, it should have practical value for workers at all levels because basically the guidance function and techniques are very similar at all school levels. The major sources of the contents are the professional literature, reports from workers in the field, and the author's own practical experience as guidance worker and director of student personnel programs. In the discussion of the various instruments and methods no attempt is made to present a symposium of all theories and research findings. Material is selected primarily because of its functional value rather than because of any theoretical association. Nor is any attempt made to avoid technical terminology or consideration of controversial issues. While many student personnel workers are without very much formal preservice training in guidance, most have received systematic training in psychology and education that enables them to consider seriously and to esteem the worth of professional dis-

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cussions of the fundamental principles and techniques of student personnel work.

The opening chapter is an orientation chapter in which the current situation in student personnel work is considered in terms of certain basic requirements and some fundamental principles are reviewed. The closing chapter provides brief consideration of a number of related procedures in environmental and group work that are referred to at various points in the intervening chapters devoted to the specific tools named above. The effectiveness with which these tools are used, alone or in combination, depends upon the practitioner's skill acquired through study and experience, his ingenuity in adapting an instrument or method to the requirements of a particular situation, and his general understanding and appreciation of student personnel work as both an art and a science. It is not maintained here that wonders will result from the use of these tools in schools and colleges, but it is strongly believed that when proper use becomes common practice the ultimate goal in all education—the optimum development of every student as a group member—will be more closely approached than it is at present.

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CHAPTER 1

The Starting Point

Most practitioners find that the first steps in their professional training include building a set of concepts and becoming familiar with the most useful instruments and techniques. From this starting point they move forward to gain skill through practice in the application of principles and the use of techniques. This book is intended to help workers who are more or less at the starting point—to help them to understand some of the important concepts and to acquaint them with some of the instruments and procedures used in student personnel work. The book deals primarily with the procedures and instruments employed in gathering, synthesizing, interpreting, and using information on individual students. It does not cover analytical and diagnostic techniques that require clinical training of an advanced nature, and in the closing chapter it gives only limited attention to some of the procedures of environmental treatment and group work.

Before reviewing the basic principles that govern use of the various techniques, we should look at the general situation with respect to student personnel work and consider one of the problems commonly encountered by the workers in providing student personnel services in the schools today.

THE SITUATION

Back in the 1920's when student personnel work or guidance was a young movement in education, certain workers who helped to direct it forward could not agree regarding the part that teachers should have in the program. A few declared that teachers should take only a very small part, if any at all; that the work at its best could be done only by the professionally trained specialists. Some others said that the specialists were really not needed, that the teachers could do the work very well alone. Between these two groups and standing at various points from the extremes were others who asserted with varying degrees of emphasis that, to be successful, student personnel programs must be directed by specialists but, to function effectively, they must involve as many

interested and capable teachers as possible and, to work smoothly, the services of the teachers and the specialists must be closely related.

In the wake of the theorists have come the practitioners. More often than not they have given the guidance work to the teachers, and very often the work has been done only on paper. There are, however, many schools in which good student personnel programs have been started, programs that are steadily gaining strength as they grow older. Unfortunately, such schools are not in the majority; but they are frequently visited by workers from schools that are. Some visitors come to gaze. Others come also to ponder; for they would know the genesis of a good program, believing that such knowledge may enable them to start another good one.

The inquirers usually learn that the starting point was some dream or hope or plan stubbornly held to by some enterprising man or woman. Anything concrete, the inquirers know, usually has an abstract beginning. It is, however, the concrete beginning that they would know. They would know also why some student personnel programs that began well and went so far now seem unable to go farther. These programs had a starting point, then a stopping point. The inquirers ponder, and some find the problem very confusing. Others, as they wander through the maze in their thinking, begin to see the elements in the answer clearly—a qualified leader, enough willing and able workers, and sufficient time in which to do the work well. Simple and easy but not cheap. It is the last point regarding time that seems most difficult to provide, and it is failure to include this point that has caused some good student personnel programs first to slow up and then to stop. Providing the time needed may mark a new starting point.

The general situation throughout the nation with respect to student personnel work seems to be, on the whole, one of definite interest in student personnel work, a growing recognition of the importance of leadership and professional training to effective work, and a serious obstacle to progress created by a general tendency to overlook or to minimize the time requirements for effective work—an obstacle that is seriously hampering the specialists as well as the nonspecialists.

The Requirements

No matter how good a plan for student personnel work may look on paper, the program has little chance at lasting success if proper provision is not made for three basic requirements: (1) leadership by a professionally trained worker, (2) an adequate number of interested and trained workers, and (3) sufficient time in which to do the work. All three are essential. The foundation for the guidance program is a three-prop affair. To omit any one of the three supports will seriously weaken the program and may result in its collapse.

In any school that seeks to offer an organized systematic program of guidance there should be available the services of a professionally trained worker—someone able to provide the leadership needed, to coordinate the program, and to extend its scope by providing the services that many teacher-counselors cannot offer or cannot offer at the desired level of specialization. Unless proper provision is made both for leadership and for counseling of a specialized nature, the chances are slight that the program will progress steadily and grow strong. Moreover, if the services of a professionally trained leader are not available, much that may be done in the name of guidance may be of limited value or even useless; and some of it may actually prove harmful to the recipients.

The leader must not only be someone who has professional knowledge and technical skill but also someone who has skill in human relations, someone who can foster participation and exchange. He should be the type of leader described by Lloyd-Jones[1] as the "chain-reaction leader"—a leader who can stimulate and cultivate growth in others and does it in such a way that he not only helps to release the energies of others by stimulating interest in guidance but also helps others to grow in their capacities to take responsibility, exercise initiative, be creative, and become finer, stronger people.

The leader does not do the work alone. For every student there should be some faculty member with the interest and the skill needed for studying and counseling the student as a unique person and for interpreting the student, his needs, problems, and potentialities to others so that the conditions important to his good development may be known, provided, and maintained. Satisfactory provision of "guidance for *all* students" is not usually made, however, merely by assigning a certain number of students to every teacher or to a certain number of teachers. To give a teacher a certain number of students and to inform him that thereafter he is responsible for their guidance may not ensure the students' receiving guidance of even an inferior quality. Faculty members who serve as teacher-counselors should be as carefully selected and trained for carrying out their functions in guidance as for carrying out their functions in instruction. If they are not sufficiently well trained for their work in guidance through preservice education, they should be given the inservice training needed.

As much of the guidance work as possible should be done by class teachers so that guidance and instruction may be closely related. Guidance and instruction are not, however, the same; and while much guidance may be provided through teaching, much of it must be provided apart from teaching. To expect a teacher to provide all the guidance serv-

[1] Esther Lloyd-Jones, "Leadership in Guidance," *Teachers College Record*, 53:361, April, 1952.

ices needed by all his counselees or students or to expect him to fulfill all his functions as a counselor while fulfilling his functions as a teacher is to expect too much—no less than a miracle.

The teacher is often expected to be as versatile, resourceful, and willing as the overburdened, long-suffering mother who is much extolled in public speeches. The mother, we are told, cleans house, cooks, does the laundry, looks after a number of children, and does many other things—all at the same time. Were the mother to make the speech, she might explain that there are times when each of these tasks requires her undivided attention and that there are some tasks, such as ironing and sewing, which she has never been able to do at the same time; that, when she does not have time to do both tasks, she does one and lets the other go undone.

Likewise the teacher: he does as much as he can at one time, but there are times when he must do one thing and let another go undone. It is usually the teaching that he does and the guidance that he lets go undone. He may do so because he considers instruction more important than guidance or, more likely, because he understands instruction better than guidance and, therefore, enjoys doing it more. Or he may do so because he is afraid that, if he does otherwise, he may help to precipitate another lay outbreak against the neglect of the three R's. Hence, he believes that, if he must neglect either the student or the subject, the student should be the one neglected.

As a result, in many communities the easiest way for some young people to obtain guidance is for them to become juvenile delinquents—to get caught and be committed to the state youth authority. At a reception center (often called a "guidance center") for delinquent boys or girls they will find trained counselors who will give hours, days, and even weeks, if necessary, to studying their cases and providing the counseling needed for helping them to work out their problems and to plan for the future. These boys and girls find that they may spend as much time with their counselors as they wish and that the counselors are ready to help them at almost any time. Could these young people receive the same attention in their schools and receive only a fraction of guidance on *an individual basis* that they receive at the guidance centers for delinquent youth, many would probably never become wards of the state or need assistance as extensive as that received at the reception center. The state would be saved considerable money, and some youth would be saved considerable sorrow if all boys and girls could receive at their schools counseling and other guidance services in keeping with their real need, which is often much more extensive than their assumed need for such services.

The Time Problem

In giving special attention here to the time problem, the intention is not to imply that the requirement with respect to time is the most important requirement. If any requirement must be given priority, that one, no doubt, should be the one with respect to leadership by a professionally trained worker; but, since all three requirements are held essential, there is little point in trying to decide which is the most important. Special attention is being given to the requirement with respect to time only *because it seems to be the one currently least well provided for* and because inadequate provision is seriously limiting the *effectiveness* of student personnel work even in many schools in which the guidance programs are carried out by trained and competent workers under the leadership of specialists. There are, for example, many high schools in which well-trained counselors are working very hard to provide effective programs of student personnel services but are not achieving their goal because they have too much to do in the time available. Their case loads are much too heavy for them to be able to give *sufficient* time to many cases.

Some school administrators who are relatively untrained in guidance fail to understand the amount of time needed for good student personnel work. Therefore, they assign counselors more students than they can possibly serve well. Some writers who are well trained in guidance and who know the specialized, time-consuming nature of student personnel work help to foster this practice by advocating too high a number of *students per counselor*, a number that they seem able to defend on paper but which proves definitely not sound in practice. Some writers, for example, state that a counselor can serve 100 students or more for each period that he is released from teaching for work in guidance. These writers apparently do not consider instruction and guidance of equal importance, for it is hardly possible that anyone is of the opinion that a class teacher should have as many as 100 students or more per period.

Many administrators accept the ratio of 100:1 (100 students per period for each counselor). As a result, it has become more or less common practice to assign 500 students or more to a full-time counselor and from 200 to 300 to a half-time counselor. In actual practice this ratio has been found to provide insufficient time. As Froehlich[1] states, a ratio of 50:1 is more nearly in keeping with the real time requirements, but even this ratio is too high in terms of the standards commonly set for instruction. Furthermore, to advocate that full-time counselors have even as many as 300 students is to ignore certain facts of human nature. A person

[1] C. P. Froehlich, *Guidance Services in Smaller Schools*, p. 50. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950.

cannot absorb more than a certain number of personal relations, for the extensiveness of the emotional interest of any individual is limited.

We owe much of our knowledge regarding the limits of emotional interest to the research of Moreno, who, while stressing that emotional expansiveness is "subjectible to training," also stresses that "no individual can be thrown beyond what appears to be his organic limit." The overloaded counselor can be expected to show the same reaction as the overloaded housemother in the following illustration from Moreno:[1]

> A housemother can embrace with her given emotional energy only a certain number of children. If the number of girls she embraces surpasses a certain limit a process of selectivity sets in. She will develop a one-sided interest toward those to whom she is spontaneously "drawn"; the rest will fall on the sideline. This limit of expansiveness has, thus, an effect upon the organization of the group through producing a number of girls isolated from the housemother either because there are too many in the cottage or because of "faulty" assignments.

The counselor who is assigned 500 or more students can establish a relationship with most of them only en masse. He cannot feel or express a genuine interest in each student as a unique individual. He is fortunate if he recognizes his counselees when he meets them in the corridors, on the school grounds, in the streets, or elsewhere. Like the housemother, he will be "drawn" to some and will leave the others on the side lines.

One Possible Solution to the Time Problem

There is little chance of proper provision being made for student personnel work in secondary schools or colleges until guidance is put on the same time basis as instruction. In most high schools and colleges the faculty members who serve as counselors are scheduled for the same number of class hours as are the ones who are not counselors. In some states the public schools and the tax-supported colleges may be forced to follow this practice because state funds are allocated on the basis of class periods and class enrollments. If so, this situation will probably continue until members of state departments of education or state legislatures equate guidance and instruction in their thinking.

When a group of counselees of the size of the average class group is considered equivalent to a class group and financial provision is made accordingly by legislation or ruling of the state department of education, when teacher-counselors are assigned counseling groups *instead of class groups and not in addition to a full class load*, and when counselors give as much time to counseling groups as to class groups, then perhaps proper

[1] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* rev. ed., p. 286. New York: Beacon House, Inc., 1953.

provision can be made for student personnel work, provided, of course, that the teachers who serve as counselors are *properly qualified* to carry out their guidance functions. Under this plan, if a high-school teacher is appointed counselor to 30 students and is given one class less than he would be given otherwise, the counselor has for guidance work the five class periods a week (if the class meets daily) plus the time that he ordinarily gives to one class for grading papers, holding conferences with students about their classwork, assembling materials, and doing other such things.

When such a plan is followed, the counselor should not be expected to meet all his counselees each day; for he needs to spend much of the time in studying individual cases and in working with individual students. He should, however, be able to have regular group contacts with his counselees during their first year in the school so that they may get acquainted with him as soon as possible and may see how he can assist them individually.

The basis on which students are assigned to a counselor is relatively unimportant. If new students are assigned to "a group guidance section" and some 30 or 35 students are assigned to the same group, it is often possible for these students to have the same counselor and for the counselor to be the instructor or adult leader of that orientation or group guidance class. Such an arrangement helps to relate group work and counseling as well as broadens the scope of the counselor's relations with students and makes it possible for him to increase the effectiveness of his counseling by being the one who provides his counselees or advisees their precounseling orientation through group work.

Ordinarily a student should have the same counselor throughout his stay in the school. Should, however, the assignment of any student to a particular counselor prove "faulty," a change in counselor should be permitted for the same reason that Moreno[4] advocates correction of "faulty" assignments made to housemothers:

The effort the latter has to make to reach the child is out of proportion to what she has available for her. And if two or three such individuals are assigned to the housemother, problems to her but easily reachable to others, she becomes, if she takes her duty seriously, more exhausted through dealing with them than through efforts made for a dozen other children. Eventually she becomes indifferent and she tries to mask her undoing.

This plan for providing guidance on the same time basis as instruction is simple and can be effective. It is not likely to work, however, in some adulterated form, such as the homeroom plan, whereby a teacher is assigned some 30 students whom he meets every day for less than half an

[4] *Ibid.*

hour and once or twice a week for about fifty minutes. Most of the short homeroom period is ordinarily given to checking attendance, hearing announcements, promoting ticket sales, and doing other like things. Nearly all members of the group are present during the long period, which makes it difficult for the teacher to give his undivided attention to the counseling of individual students and makes it difficult for some students to talk freely with the teacher even though other students cannot hear what he is saying.

The group guidance class can be an important part of the counselor's work, but it cannot be used as a substitute for work with the individual. In practice, as the studies of Sachs[3] and others have shown, the group guidance class is often less effective as a means of providing counseling than the homeroom plan because it fails to provide continuity in guidance through continuous student-counselor association. The homeroom teacher usually has from 20 to 40 students and has the same students year after year, whereas the full-time group guidance teacher usually has from 100 to 200 students and has different students year after year and even semester after semester. The group guidance teacher may advance with the class; that is, he may teach the freshman group guidance course one year, the sophomore course the next year, and so on; but, for reasons of schedule, he seldom has many students continuously from one year to another or even from one semester to another. He may have more time for his guidance work than the homeroom teacher, but for any one semester or year he has less time per student than the homeroom teacher has and considerably less time for each of the several hundred students whom he serves during the same three- or four-year period that the homeroom teacher serves his 20 to 40 students.

Any plan for putting guidance on the same time basis with instruction will probably require an increase in the number of staff members because it calls for a decrease in the number of classes ordinarily assigned to a teacher-counselor. Hence, some people may say that such a plan will never be adopted because the financial provision needed will never be made. When, however, this attitude of negative expectancy changes to one of positive expectancy and even to impatience at our delay in making the financial provision needed, the plan may be put into practice. Many people have already seen wonders take place in education and expect to see more. It is not a lifetime ago that inclusion of home economics in the curriculum was a wonder that came to pass. In the beginning there was considerable hullabaloo over the proposal. Many debates were held, strong protests were made against the plan, and much ridicule was uttered against the idea of sending girls to school to learn how to sew

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[3] Georgia May Sachs, *Evaluation of Group Guidance Work in Secondary Schools.* Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1945.

and cook and even to wash dishes. Today home economics is so firmly established in the school program that any proposal to take it out would probably cause more commotion than did the first proposal to put it in.

In the meantime, while working for improvement of the situation with respect to guidance, we must be practical and deal with the situation as it actually is. In general, it is far from good even though far better than two decades ago. Unable or unwilling to make provision for the work of the guidance specialist, more and more school administrators are initiating student personnel programs to be carried out principally by teachers without training in the work and without special assistance from someone who does have such training. Whether one likes this situation or not, the fact of its existence must be accepted. Perhaps the best thing to do is to follow the lead of many of the teachers who have been assigned guidance functions for which they feel unprepared—accept the situation and try to improve it.

SOME BASIC CONCEPTS

The Student Personnel Point of View

The set of principles that supplies student personnel workers a measuring stick against which to check their work is commonly referred to as "the student personnel point of view." Certain principles that are generally held to be fundamental in the student personnel point of view are briefly summarized here.

Student personnel work is concerned with the individual as a group member. When a student personnel worker ceases to think in terms of aidiog individuals, it is doubtful that his work should be called "guidance." To employ tests, for example, in order to determine group tendencies is an administrative nr a research procedure rather than a guidance technique. Only when the findings are used to help the individuals tested can testing he considered a part of guidance.

In working with the individual, bnwever, the counselor does not overlook the fact that the individual always functions in a social setting and as the member of a number of groups. Therefore, he considers the contemporary social setting and the social demands imposed upon individuals as well as the needs, interests, and abilities of different individuals. He considers himself responsible nnt only for counseling particular students but also for helping them to gain the group experiences needed for increasing their self-understanding through increased understanding of others and for learning how to establish and maintain good interpersonal relations. He knows that students need tn participate in various kinds of group activities (formal and infnrmal, organized and unorganized) and that such group experiences shnuld be provided by the school and

planned for systematically rather than haphazardly or left to the students to provide on their own.

Individual differences should be determined and provided for as far as possible. In our country this principle is given an interpretation very different from that given to it in some other countries where individual differences are considered chiefly for the purposes of selection and placement in keeping with the welfare of "the state." In a democracy individual differences have a significance beyond group interests. They are perceived as being important to individual development and are considered in education so that the individual may become a happy, well-developed man or woman as well as a good citizen.

Provision for individual differences in terms of needs, backgrounds, abilities, personality traits, and interests is possible in our schools and colleges to a far greater extent than many school people are willing to admit. In some schools much more is being done in this respect than is being done in some other schools that are much better equipped for doing so.

Student personnel services are for all students. Guidance should not be provided only for "problem" students, that is, for students recognized as having problems or as "being problems" and for those who voluntarily seek help with their problems. Student personnel services should be provided for all students whether they ask for them or not, and so guidance should include preventive and developmental work as well as diagnostic and remedial services.

In most schools student personnel workers do not find it possible to use certain techniques, such as the case study and the case conference, with all students. When, however, they make case studies and hold case conferences on nonproblem cases, on average students, and on superior students as well as on slow learners and "discipline" cases, they observe this third principle better than do those who limit their use of such techniques to the study of problem cases only.

Student personnel work is concerned with the whole student. The emphasis is upon the unity of personality and the unitary nature of the guidance process. Trained student personnel workers know, for example, that a student's intellectual development is helped or hindered by the state of his mental and physical health and that his social adjustment and emotional development are interrelated. They also know that they cannot counsel a student regarding his choice of a vocation apart from consideration of certain other matters, such as personality, educational achievement, strong interests, health, relations with others, and the like.

Student personnel work deals largely with choices and adjustments to be made by students. The student should be provided guided exploratory experiences and should be permitted to share as far as is practical, i.e., as far as he is able to understand and to use, the information gathered on

him so that he may learn his limitations aod potentialities and thus be better able to make sound choices and good adjustments. *Others who are coocerned with the student should also share as far as possible the data obtained on him.* To secure, for example, the help needed from all teachers for obtaining changes in school programs and practices io keeping with student needs, the cooperation of the ones who are not counselors, as well as of the ones who are, should be enlisted by letting them share in the use of data obtained from tests, observation, case studies, and the like.

If teachers do not understand or know how to use such information, they should be helped to do so. Dealt with in a considerate, professional manner, they will usually take care to stay withio the limits set for them by their training and skill. If they are not permitted to share in the work and feel that they are being deliberately kept in the dark, they will feel resentful and may fail to support the guidance program. Some may even undermine it. Making teachers participants and helping to increase the quality of their participation helps to enlarge the scope of the guidance program.

Student personnel work implies counsel but not compulsion. Three courses of actioo, for example, may be open to a student. The diagnosis of his case indicates that course A has much more to offer than either B or C and that, on the whole, C is very uodesirable. The possible courses of action are explored with the student during n series of interviews, but eventually he decides to follow course C. The worker, however, feels sure that he knows what is best for the student; and so he takes steps to close course C to the studeot and to do all that he can to force him to follow course A. He may do all this io the name of guidance, but it is not guidance. It is true that at times the personnel worker does have to take from a student the right of decision because of legal requirements or the student's lack of maturity or experience, but such action should *not* be labeled "guidance." Instead, it should be called by its proper name of "prescription" or "compulsion."

Compulsion is too often used when guidance can he employed. More frequeoly than some counselors care to admit a student's "poor choice" does not turn out to be so poor as expected. Even if it does prove to be a poor one, the student may gain more than he loses by the experience. To achieve optimum personality development, each of us needs to experience a fair share of both success and failure. Hence, to deprive a student of his right to make a bad decision may hamper him in his growing up.

Student personnel work is directed toward helping the student to become progressively more able to help himself. When a student is encouraged and permitted to make choices and decisions and when he is aided in doing this by being permitted to share as far as possible in the study of his strengths and weaknesses, he has a much better chance to become progressively able to help himself than he does when most of his impor-

taot choices and decisions are made for him by parents, teachers, and other adults.

Student personnel work is a gradual and a continuous process. Guidance is a process, not an act. Too often, however, teachers and counselors attempt to achieve the guidance objectives through a single act or a short period of concentrated action. Much useful information, for instance, can be obtained on students through a short intensive period of analytical and diagnostic work scheduled at the time of the students' entrance in the school or shortly before the time of their graduation. More information and more valuable information may be obtained, however, when the students are studied continuously through the year and throughout all their school years from the kindergarten through college. Moreover, the interest and cooperation of both students and teachers are more easily maintained when too much in the way of studying and counseling students is not attempted in too short a time, when the work is not compressed into one or two days or one or two weeks, as is frequently done during "preadmission days" and "orientation weeks." Guidance must be more than an initial push. It must include systematic continuous study of the individuals served.

In too many schools *some services*, such as counseling, are not available to the students at all times but only at certain times, ordinarily just before registration for a new term or just before entrance into employment, military service, college, or some other training program. Because too many students are interviewed in a short period of time and too many matters are taken up during one interview, some students find themselves more confused than aided by such service. Their comments regarding the value of the help received frequently testify to their need for counseling offered in an unhurried fashion throughout the school years rather than at the beginning of a term or at the end of the last year in a particular school. Furthermore, workers who fail to pass on to workers in other schools or training agencies or to trustworthy placement officers their data on students formerly with them but now with the other agencies are not contributing as they should to the unity and continuity of guidance. They are impeding progress toward the goal of guidance as a steady unbroken process that continues beyond high school and college.

To function effectively, student personnel workers need professional knowledge and training. Sympathetic interest in students, common sense, and intuition are helpful; but they do not supply a sufficiently strong basis for successful performance of student personnel work. The knowledge and skill secured through professional training are also needed. Fortunately, there is, as Dunsmoor and Miller[a] state, "a growing appre-

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[a] C. C. Dunsmoor and L. M. Miller, *Principles and Methods of Guidance for Teachers*, p. 10. Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1949.

ciation of the fact that the training of counselors extends considerably beyond that which can logically be expected of *every teacher* and that it is essential that a school have at least a minimum number of qualified counselors on its staff." With others these writers also see an increasing tendency "to expect teachers, *in addition to their regular preparation for teaching,* to have had at least a course in the principles of guidance and a basic course in guidance methods."

Organization is needed for student personnel work to be effective. Long-range planning is needed. Responsibility must be fixed for the performance of various functions. Systematic use of all available resources must be provided for, and the efforts of all workers must be coordinated. Such matters cannot be left to chance, but they will be unless proper provision is made for suitable organization and administration of the guidance program.

Student personnel work and instruction are parallel and at times are overlapping services. Because student personnel work and instruction do overlap at times, it is important that all staff members accept and act on the student personnel point of view and that all have an opportunity to participate in the guidance work as far as their training and skill permit. Furthermore, all should be given an opportunity to increase their participation by increasing their training through inservice education. Including basic guidance courses in preservice education or adding work in guidance through graduate study is, however, more valuable ordinarily than inservice education for helping a teacher to relate guidance and instruction to his work as a class teacher and for enabling him to help the professionally trained worker in providing specialized services.

The Relationship between Student and Counselor

The worker's ability to establish and to maintain the right kind of relationship with students will determine to a considerable degree the extent to which he is able to apply in practice the personnel point of view. The worker should take care in working with students to be warm, cordial, friendly, responsive, and understanding but at the same time to be impersonal and objective. To be impersonal and objective, however, he need not be or appear to be cold, indifferent, or uninterested. Nor should he be.

The counselor's interest in students is personal inasmuch as he is interested in them as individuals and stands ready to help them as best he can with personal matters as well as matters primarily educational and vocational. His relationship, however, with his students is not personal in the sense of its being intimate or his becoming involved emotionally in their affairs. Some nonspecialists in guidance err in establishing relations that are intimate or emotional and do so largely because

of a misconception regarding student personnel work. Confusing guidance with sentimentality, they establish a relationship with students that is undesirably personal. They try, as they frequently explain, to be like a father or a mother to their students. Most students, however, find the parent-type of teacher more a hindrance than a help, for this type of guidance worker seldom develops a real professional interest in students as distinct personalities. Their interest usually stems from a desire to run other people's lives or from a thwarted need for attention and affection.

Unfortunately, some men and women enter school work, and guidance work in particular, because they hope to gain through their relations with students the satisfaction of certain personal needs which they find frustrated in their relations with family and others. Unable to satisfy sufficiently elsewhere their desire to love and to be loved, they seek this satisfaction in their work with students and by so doing harm some. These teachers tend to pull certain students close to them by showing them special consideration. They support these favorites against others —teachers and students—and encourage them to cry on their shoulders. They cannot bear to see their adopted children hurt; and so they try to shield them from disappointment, criticism, and failure. In return they expect full payment in terms of appreciation and gratitude. Consequently, they often deprive their students of the right of choice but not by ordering and forbidding. They use the base technique of blackmailing with love. The average student will not be such an ingrate as to go against the wishes of a devoted loving counselor. One does not act that way, he thinks, with a loving parent; neither, he feels, should one behave so with a parent surrogate. Such teachers should not be teachers. Never should they be named counselors.

Students flow in and out of the school like the waves of the ocean. New ones come in, and old ones go out. Any worker who tries to share himself emotionally with the hundreds of students who will normally come under his guidance may soon find himself emotionally depleted and unfit to serve any student. Instead of being stimulated by human contacts, he will wish to flee from them. Furthermore, although the counselor will need to give some students more of his time and assistance than he gives others, he should not differentiate some students from others through the quality of his relationship with them. He should be friendly with all but ordinarily the bosom friend of none.

When a student is seriously frustrated in his need to love and to be loved, the worker may find it necessary to supply this student the emotional response wanted and needed. But, properly objective, he does not encourage the student to be dependent upon him overlong. He knows that he cannot be a continuing active force in the life of this student, and so he strives to be an assisting rather than a supporting force during the

time that he is in the student's life. For a while he may have to permit the student to lean upon him, but as soon as possible he helps the student to be on his own and to get along without his support. Instead of encouraging the student to depend upon him for friendship and affection, the counselor tries to help him to find a place among the students and to learn how to get along with others. Before long, he hopes, the student will be able to make and to keep friends and through his relations with his peers find adequate satisfaction of his social and ego-integrative needs.

This caution against becoming emotionally involved with students should not be interpreted as meaning that the worker is not to have feelings or is to suppress his feelings. It means only that he should control them. Nor does it mean that the worker is not to display emotion in dealing with students. Such interpretations would be most unfortunate, for few students are attracted to a colorless poker-faced teacher or counselor. Enthusiasm and vivacity are as much assets to guidance as in teaching. Dynamic personalities attract people, both young and old. Nor is the statement that the worker will not be a continuing force in the life of the student to be interpreted as meaning that the worker should not have a lasting influence. The influence of a good counselor may last throughout the lives of those whom he counsels.

Objectivity in dealing with students does not rule out enthusiasm, sympathy, and kindness. Instead, it strengthens them by conserving and channeling their force in the right direction. Any counselor would do well to borrow from the creed of Wrenn[1] and periodically remind himself that in the exercise of his functions he "must have heart, brains, and self-control."

Every Technique a Means: None an End

The use of any guidance procedure implies treatment or follow-up through work with individual students, for every guidance technique should serve as a means to helping students. None should ever become an end in itself. Yet this does happen at times and with specialists as well as with nonspecialists.

When, for example, case studies are carefully made, filed, and only brought forth to be displayed as examples of the school's records or of the worker's skill and the subjects of the case studies continue on their way relatively unaffected by the careful study made of them, then making case studies was apparently the chief objective. When detailed records are made on students and kept locked in a central file and the information in them is not used because not shared with others, then keeping

[1] C. G. Wrenn, "Trends and Predictions in Vocational Guidance," *Occupations,* 23:213, May, 1947.

records becomes a noneducational objective as far as the students are concerned. When tests are administered but the results never used as a basis for modifying instructional methods, for providing appropriate curricula and counseling, for changing regulations, and for doing other such things, then testing becomes an end in itself, instead of one means to the end of helping individual students to achieve good development as group members—the end which should govern the use of any guidance technique.

In studying and assisting students, the student personnel worker soon finds that rarely can he rely upon the use of one technique alone. He finds that he needs to become skilled in the use of as many guidance techniques as possible. While he learns that some techniques are better than others, he also learns that the best one used with others is usually better than the best one used alone. Furthermore, the best technique in one situation is not the best one in all situations because the one that is best will vary with workers, students, and situations. One worker, for example, may be especially skilled in the use of tests, but not all students are equally responsive to tests. Another worker may ordinarily be very successful in using the interview to secure the information needed for placing students in part-time employment, but he may not be equally successful in using the interview for helping students to find a place in the activity program. Furthermore, he finds that with some applicants for part-time jobs the interview yields little of the information he needs; and so he may use a questionnaire or some other procedure with these students.

No one technique can produce all the information needed. A test may show a student to be superior in scholastic aptitude, but it does not show whether his scholastic success is correspondingly high. Another instrument, such as the cumulative personnel record, may yield this information. Records of observation on another student may give the picture of a passive, indifferent girl but give no clues as to the reason, whereas a case study made of this girl may show that she is usually tired and sleepy and may disclose why she is not getting the rest needed for being as alert and active as she could be under other conditions. A questionnaire or an autobiography may show that a certain boy considers being able to get along well with others exceedingly important and that he wants very much to be popular, but the sociograms on his class group may show him usually unchosen by others.

The information obtained through the use of a particular technique at one time may not be so accurate as that obtained through the use of the same technique or of a different procedure at another time. The findings from one technique help to disclose the accuracies and inaccuracies in the findings from another. A boy's responses on an interest inventory,

for example, indicate that he has a very high interest in the sciences; but the interview data, anecdotal reports, and other material in his cumulative record folder indicate that the boy may be only professing an interest in science in order to live up to his father's expectations. The data from a reading test show another boy to be low in reading skills, but the scholastic aptitude test results show him superior in linguistic ability, and his cumulative record shows consistently high achievement in the subjects in which reading skill is closely related to success.

Such examples show that the items of information obtained through the use of different techniques supplement, contradict, and confirm one another. Through training and practice the worker gains skill in detecting the significance of different combinations of items. He learns that each item must be considered in the light of other items and that no important decision or conclusion should ever be made on the basis of one item alone and rarely on the findings from any one technique. One item and one technique are not enough when the purpose is to aid the personal development of individual students.

The principles that have been briefly reviewed above are explored further, and others are taken up in the following chapters that deal specifically with some techniques commonly found useful in student personnel work.

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Tests: Some Basic Considerations

Testing is probably the most commonly used specialized technique in guidance. In many schools it is the principal one used and in some the only one. In too many schools it fails as a guidance tool because it is not combined with planning for individual development or because it is incorrectly used and leads to false assumptions and unscientific conclusions. When correctly used, testing offers certain definite advantages; and, like any other technique, it also has its limitations.

ADVANTAGES

In student personnel work the primary purpose in using any diagnostic technique is to secure information useful in helping students to make choices and adjustments and in determining provisions and modifications to be made by others for the sake of the student's optimal development. Appropriate tests help to achieve this purpose and often have the following advantages:

Tests produce certain types of information more economically than some other procedures. For example, a student reports to enroll in the junior high school in his new home town. He does not have a record from his previous school, and it may be weeks or even months before one is obtained. The information secured from the student leaves the guidance worker in doubt as to whether he should be placed in the seventh or the eighth grade. The worker decides to put the boy in the eighth grade. Several weeks later he decides on the basis of the teachers' reports that the student should be in the seventh grade and changes him accordingly.

This procedure of trying the student out in the eighth grade is costly for the student in terms of time and morale. The time spent in the eighth grade could have been better invested by the student in the seventh grade—in participating in the curricular and cocurricular experiences offered there and in adjusting to the other students, the teachers, and the classroom environment. Furthermore, if the student sees the change as a

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demotion, he suffers a loss in self-esteem as well as a loss in time and learning. To prevent or to reduce the loss in morale, the worker may try through counseling to help the student to understand and to accept the situation and even, perhaps, to decide himself to make the change. While providing counseling is highly desirable, having to provide it for such purposes further increases the cost of the trial-and-error method.

It would be much more economical in terms of the student's and the teachers' time for the worker to give the boy at the time of entrance an intelligence test and a battery of achievement tests to determine his general scholastic aptitude and his approximate achievement level in the different subject fields. The worker can then use counseling to help the student to understand the purpose of the tests and to gain his interest and cooperation. A counseling interview to protect a student's ego usually contributes more to his morale than one designed to repair any damage already done to his self-esteem. To give this new student intelligence and achievement tests will probably require from three to four hours, but the use of three or four hours to determine his grade placement is more economical than the use of three or four weeks or even of three or four days.

Perhaps, it should be added that grade placement should not be made on the basis of mental age and achievement-test data alone. Chronological age, health, physical and social development, and emotional maturity must be considered also.

Objective tests properly administered and scored yield more accurate information than the more subjective techniques, such as the interview, questionnaire, and observation, because they are relatively free from extraneous factors. The test situation is controlled and the same for all participants. The sample of behavior tested is also the same. Likewise, the results are judged by the same standard. They are not dependent upon the memory of the examiner or the likes and dislikes of the scorer.

Judgments made on the basis of test results are superior to judgments based on teachers' reports because they are more accurate. Tests at times show teachers' judgments regarding particular students to be false. Standardized tests of intelligence and of achievement, for example, may show that the quiet withdrawing pupil is not the dull child his teachers think him to be, but is a bright youngster. They may show that another student, a very bright-appearing lad, is not so bright as his teachers believe. His good marks may be due mainly to his personal charm rather than to his intellectual ability or his mastery of subject matter.

The superiority of test data to teachers' judgments as indicated by school marks has led some colleges to change their criteria for college admission. In the past the criteria used most commonly were completion of a high-school program and certification that the student had done sat-

isfactory work in certain specified "college preparatory courses." Teachers' marks were the criterion for "satisfactory work." As Tyler reports,[1] the Eight Year Study showed that "a more efficient selection could be made by using a battery of tests than by depending upon the previous educational record of the students." In the Eight Year Study five criteria were used for predicting college success.

These were: (1) score on a scholastic-aptitude test such as the American Council on Education Psychological Test, (2) score on a reading test based on fairly complex reading materials of the sort used in college, (3) score on a test of writing skills, (4) score on a test of simple mathematical operations, largely arithmetic, and (5) evidence that the student had carried one subject for at least two years and had made better than average grades in that subject.

The fifth item was included as evidence of good work habits and motivation.

Tests provide information in meaningful terms through quantitative description of the data. Describing a student as very bright or reporting that he does well in school is not so definite or significant as saying that, according to his performance on a certain intelligence test he has an IQ of 127 or that he has a percentile rank of 79 on a particular achievement test in comparison with others at his grade level.

Tests aid identification of students in need of special attention. Very bright students, for example, are frequently neglected because of the teachers' failure to recognize their superior strength. The regular use of good tests of mental ability helps to correct this situation. Tests are also useful for identifying students in need of remedial help in certain areas. A test in reading, for example, will help to show which students are deficient in certain reading skills and, as a result, are having or may have trouble in their school work.

Tests can facilitate the study of growth or change in certain areas. A remedial program may be undertaken with the students found deficient in reading skills. A test administered at the beginning of the program helps to show the reading strengths and weaknesses of the students individually. Another form of the same test given later helps to show the gains made by each individual in correcting his weaknesses and increasing his strengths.

LIMITATIONS

In general, the standardized tests have been very much improved; but they are still far from perfect. Like other forms of measurement they are subject to errors resulting from limitations in the technique, in the in-

[1] Ralph W. Tyler, "The Road to Better Appraisal," *Journal of the National Education Association,* 38:336, May, 1948.

strument, and in the person using the technique and the instrument. The better the worker's understanding of the technique and the instrument, the greater his skill in the use of the instrument, the fewer will be his errors. Also, the more likely he will be to heed such limitations as the following:

Tests are not refined tools that give exact measurement. The situation is well summed up by Super[2] who states that "the measuring instruments we now use even for the most adequately measured *traits such as intelligence* and vocational interest are still crude and only half understood; those we use for measuring personality traits such as general adjustment, introversion and the need for recognition *are still in embryonic stages.*"

Some test users place much more faith in the test results than do the test makers. The test named above as one of the five criteria used in selecting college students—the ACE Psychological Examination—is generally conceded to be a superior test of scholastic aptitude. Yet its authors' caution that "while the scores do show roughly the mental alertness of the student, they should not be thought of as measuring mentality with high accuracy."

Tests do not provide comprehensive measurement. Intelligence tests, for example, usually give evidence regarding a student's ability to perform tasks characterized by abstractness, complexity, and difficulty; but they rarely give evidence regarding his ability to do tasks with certain other characteristics included in definitions, such as that of Stoddard[4] who states that "intelligence *is* the ability to undertake activities that are characterized by (1) difficulty, (2) complexity, (3) abstractness, (4) economy, (5) adaptiveness to a goal, (6) social value, and (7) the emergence of originals" and that it includes the ability to "maintain such activities under conditions that demand concentration of energy and a resistance to emotional forces."

It is highly doubtful that an intelligence test can ever be developed that will measure intelligence as Stoddard describes it. The tests do not, however, provide a comprehensive measure of mental ability even when intelligence is defined less broadly than in Stoddard's statement. The kind of definition labeled "educational" by Pintner defines intelligence as the ability to learn or as the capacity for knowledge and the knowledge possessed or as the ability to comprehend and to use symbols. Tests based on such definitions are measures of the *learning power important in cer-*

[2] Donald E. Super, *Appraising Vocational Fitness by Means of Psychological Tests*, p. 8. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

[3] L. L. Thurstone and T. G. Thurstone, *Manual of Instructions: American Council on Education Psychological Examination for College Freshmen*, p. 3. Princeton, N. J., and Los Angeles, Calif.: Cooperative Test Division, Educational Testing Service, 1946.

[4] C. D. Stoddard, "On the Meaning of Intelligence," *The Psychological Review*, 48:255, May, 1941.

tain educational and vocational situations, not in all. The test makers do not profess to offer instruments that provide comprehensive measurement.

Here are some other examples: Achievement tests commonly measure the information possessed; they less often measure the ability to apply information; and rarely do they yield evidence regarding appreciation and critical discrimination. Vocabulary tests often measure ability to recognize synonyms but almost never give information about a student's functioning vocabulary. Finally, a paper-and-pencil test of mechanical aptitude may measure a student's knowledge of the names of tools and of the purposes for which the tools are used but may not measure his ability to use any tool for achieving its purpose.

The test yields a score, the numerical indication of the student's performance; but it does not show why he made the score. It does not show, among other things, whether the student's performance was affected by such factors as motivation, visual acuity, physical energy, anxiety, excitement, reading skill, cultural background, desire to make a good impression, and the like. In the light of such information, the meaning of the scores may be altered considerably.

The test may show what a student can do in a test situation; but it does not show what he will do under other conditions, especially in complex educational and vocational situations. It is not, for instance, uncommon for a student to do much better in his school work than some others who received higher scores than be on a scholastic aptitude test. More highly motivated than the others, he puts forth greater effort and achieves at a higher level than do some of his more able classmates. Scholastic aptitude tests supply very little evidence regarding interest and effort which, as well as ability, are required for success. The combination of test scores and of information regarding the student's past achievement, emotional balance, social acceptance, and the like offers a better basis for predicting success than test scores alone. Judgments based on test scores alone, however, are very likely to be superior to judgments based only on other less objective types of evidence—past achievement, adjustment, and the like.

Tests give evidence regarding what a student can do, but they cannot make decisions for him. This point is well illustrated in the following statement from Greene:[5]

From careful measurement it may appear that a student's chances of average success in a course in electrical engineering, or in second-year French, or in medicine, are one in one hundred. But the tests cannot decide for a person whether or not he shall attempt the course or the profession. Often a person must experience failure in order to be made to realize his limitations.

[5] E. B. Greene, *Measurements of Human Behavior*, rev. ed., p. 16. New York: The Odyssey Press, Inc., 1952.

MAJOR ERRORS IN THE USE OF TESTS

Inept users of tests have done much to nullify the work done by authors of good tests. Better results are obtained from the use of tests when the users are wary of such pitfalls as the following:

Failure to choose measurements in keeping with the specific purposes to be served. If, for example, the objective is to test a student's ability to construct a good sentence, to compose unified thoughtful paragraphs, and to assemble paragraphs into an acceptable composition, the type of measurement to be used is not an English test that measures mainly a student's ability to recognize right and wrong forms and to organize or reorganize material written by others. In this case, the test should be in the form of an essay examination; that is, the student should be instructed to write a composition about some assigned topic or one of his own choosing. On the other hand, if the objective is to test the student's power to recognize correct English forms, then the use of a test like the one first referred to seems appropriate.

Use of tests for purposes not intended. The use that some teachers make of vocational interest tests well illustrates this error. Most vocational interest tests give scores in broad fields of interest, such as artistic or mechanical. They do not give information concerning a student's ability and opportunity to enter a specific occupation in the field of professed interest, but some school workers use them as though they did and counsel the students accordingly.

Overenthusiastic support of tests and failure to recognize their imperfections. As has already been stated, the test makers know that their tests are crude instruments offering at best only a rough measurement of the traits they purport to measure; but many users of these tests treat the findings as though they were the product of some fine, exact instrument. This type of error is too frequently made with respect to personality tests. Although the complex structure of personality cannot be measured by the series of trait measures contained in the paper-and-pencil tests available for use by nonclinical workers, data from such tests, nevertheless, are being used in many schools as a basis for diagnosing and treating student maladjustment.

Yet, as Ross[*] pointed out, it is also wrong to go to the opposite extreme —to refuse to recognize any virtue in tests because of their imperfections. Instead of making "the best possible use of such tools as exist while waiting for better ones to be developed," some individuals will have nothing to do with them. To Ross they were like the farmer who postpones buying a car "till them blamed things is perfected."

[*] C. C. Ross, *Measurement in Today's Schools,* 2d ed., p. 93. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947.

Too strong generalizations from group tendencies. Some college workers may note that most students who score below a certain score on a "preadmission test" do not succeed in college and therefore rule that no student making a score lower than the "critical score" may be admitted. But some students who make scores below the minimum standard do make good in college, and some who make scores above it fail to do so. Once more we note that decision on a particular case should not be based upon one item alone. Other items of information must be considered also.

Preparation for tests made on instructional goal. Instead of using tests to discover individual differences in terms of ability, interest, background preparation, achievement, and the like, some teachers make preparing students for the tests their major instructional objective. Teachers are, of course, most likely to fall into this error when they are made insecure by their fears of the possible use of test results by their administrators. Believing that a low average score for the class may be interpreted as evidence of poor teaching, they yield to the temptation to coach their students for the test.

Neglect of desirable outcomes of instruction that cannot be measured objectively. This is a companion error of the one described in the preceding paragraph. Because, for example, standard tests of English for senior-high-school students are frequently tests of mechanical form, some high-school teachers of English tend to stress form and to neglect teaching students how to use English effectively in speech and in writing.

Neglect of data that cannot be obtained or easily obtained through tests. Super[7] classifies the data needed in diagnosis into two groups: psychological data (aptitudes, skills, interests, personality traits) and social data (environment, influences, resources). He stresses the need for collecting both types of information because, he says, most workers tend to neglect one group or the other, in accordance with their training. "The fact," he states, "that many psychological characteristics are best judged by means of tests which require special study and have the appearance of objectivity and concreteness has often led to the relative neglect of social factors in counseling by those trained to use tests, and to the neglect of important psychological factors by those not trained to use tests."

Making the part the whole. Workers stumble into this pitfall in many ways. Some do it by making the diagnostic service the entire student personnel program. They would deny their guilt if so accused, but they prove it in practice. They neglect counseling; they do not look upon placement as their job; they believe in follow-up work but do not have time for such time-consuming work; they leave student activities to students or to other teachers "interested in that kind of work." They con-

[7] Super, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

ceotrate oo diagnosis, oeglecting or wholly overlooking the rest of the program.

Some workers who narrow the program to the diagnostic service sin eveo further by making tests the whole of this service, neglecting practically all other methods of diagnosis. Super,[3] for example, protests the little use made nowadays of a technique widely used before the use of tests became popular—the use of exploratory activities at school and on the job to help students "find themselves." The method is a good one and one that can be as useful today as it ever was.

Other illustrations of this error of making the part the whole are given by workers who assume that a test gives the whole picture on a student and by those who think that norms standardized on students in one part of the country are applicable to students in all parts of the country. A test shows only part of the picture, and norms established on students in one locality may have little applicatioo to those in another.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD TEST PROGRAM

To contribute effectively to student personnel work, the testing program should be a comprehensive one, cooperatively developed, and based on long-range planning; and it should include all steps involved in planning, admioistering, and evaluating a good test program.

The program should be comprehensive. Differeot kinds of tests and different tests of the same kind should be used so that data from one may serve as a check on data from others. Furthermore, the use of a number of tests is needed for revealing the patterns of strengths and weaknesses and the growth trends of individual students.

The size of the test program for a particular school will be determined principally by the experience and training of the faculty members and the finaocial resources available. If the staff members are relatively inexperienced, a small program that includes one or two kinds of tests for all students is better than a large one that includes many types of tests. The various recommendations offered in the literature are not the same, but most are similar. Some examples: Wrenn and Dugan[9] assert that the program of psychological tests in the high school should include "at least two measures of scholastic aptitude, supplemented by tests of reading skills, measures of scholastic achievement, and an inventory of interests." Traxler[10] and others have fouod that it is well to begin with tests of gen-

[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 13–14.
[9] C. Gilbert Wrenn and Willis E. Dungan, *Guidance Procedures in High School,* p. 19. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1950.
[10] A. E. Traxler *et al.*, *Introduction to Testing and the Use of Test Results in Public Schools,* p. 19. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953.

eral mental ability and reading achievement and then to develop a more comprehensive program by gradually adding tests of achievement and general abilities and finally tests of interest and personality.

Froehlich and Darley[11] say that three kinds of tests are needed with nearly all students—tests of scholastic aptitude, achievement, and interests. Writing alone, Darley[12] states that the "minimum testing program" is small—a good measure of general scholastic ability and an interest inventory. With this minimum battery, Darley says, guidance workers "will have plenty of material with which to learn clinical skills" and will not find themselves "swamped with a mass of test scores that are at first rather difficult to comprehend and to synthesize into a meaningful picture."

In like manner, other recommendations could be reported which would show that inclusion of intelligence tests is practically always recommended, that inclusion of achievement tests and of interest tests is usually recommended, that inclusion of personality tests is not often recommended, and that provision for individual tests of intelligence and measures of special aptitudes is recommended for use with special cases when the training of the workers and the financial resources of the school make their use practical.

The program should be a cooperative enterprise based on long-range planning. It should not be a sporadic affair, adopted piecemeal year by year in some haphazard fashion. Also, since faculty participation in planning ordinarily increases the amount and quality of faculty participation in carrying out plans, the testing program should be made a cooperative undertaking rather than an administrative project.

The formulation of policy and the making of decisions with regard to the program should be the responsibility of a group rather than of an individual. In a small school the group should include all faculty members. In a large school, however, for practical reasons it has to be limited to a committee which should be representative of the entire faculty. The committee must include at least one member with training in testing (more than one course); otherwise, its judgments of tests will be practically useless and may actually be harmful. Judgments submitted to the entire faculty for approval are usually more readily accepted and acted upon than are decisions handed down from above. Therefore, in all important matters the committee should seek the approval of the total group before taking action. Failing to do so, it may not receive the cooperation and support needed from all members.

The committee should select with care the tests to be recommended for

[11] C. P. Froehlich and J. G. Darley, *Studying Students*, p. 214. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1952.
[12] John C. Darley, *Testing and Counseling in the High School Guidance Program*, pp. 137–138. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1943.

inclusion in the program. Before making recommendations, its members should critically examine all tests being seriously considered, study the data obtainable on each, and consult any available experts. Once the program is adopted, change should be made for sound reasons only. Confusion may result if tests are changed often and primarily in order to try out new tests rather than to obtain additional information on the students. The fact that the new tests are of the same type—intelligence, achievement, etc.—as the old ones will not prevent confusion; for data from different tests that supposedly measure the same thing are not always comparable. Comparable data are needed. Lack of it makes the study of trends and of growth patterns exceedingly difficult and at times impossible.

Tests should be given at regular intervals rather than in some incidental manner, according to the convenience of the teachers or the desire of some administrative officer. Giving tests irregularly contributes no more to the making of growth studies of individual students than does changing tests frequently and without good reason. The tests should be given according to some systematically recurring schedule with particular tests placed on the schedule in keeping with student need. To schedule reading tests late in the spring, for example, rather than early in the fall deprives some students of the opportunity to receive early in the school year the remedial assistance needed from the beginning of the year but not known by their teachers to be needed until the year is almost over.

Certain writers advocate making the testing program a cooperative enterprise even to the extent of permitting students to take part in the selection of tests. Others, however, doubt that it is necessary or desirable to have students participate in the selection of tests. Among the writers who are in favor of such procedures are Kitch and McCreary,[13] who state that "better results are obtained in individual testing when the student is given an opportunity to share with the counselor in the discussion and selection of tests which he is to take."

Bordin and Bixler[14] describe the plan followed at the University of Minnesota for permitting students referred to the Counseling Bureau to have a voice in test selection. The counselor explains to the student the judgments that he may expect to obtain about himself through taking certain kinds of tests and then lets the student decide which types of tests should be used in helping him to work out his problems. The counselor, however, is the one who selects the specific tests of the types selected. This practice not only helps some students to accept the significance of

[13] Donald E. Kitch and William H. McCreary, *Improving Guidance Programs in Secondary Schools*, p. 28. Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1950.

[14] E. S. Bordin and R. H. Bixler, "Test Selection: A Process of Counseling." *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 6:361–374, Autumn, 1946.

test scores but also helps them to realize that they cannot obtain the degree of certainty and specificness in judgment that some are seeking in going to the Counseling Bureau for help. Shostrom and Brammer[15] describe the "self-selection" process at another university counseling center wherein the counselor indicates the tests available and recommends the ones considered best for technical reasons. The student decides the types of information needed, whether he will use tests for obtaining the information, and which tests he will take.

These writers advocate student participation in the selection of tests to be administered individually. They do not recommend the practice for the selection of group tests.

The program should be complete. According to Ross,[16] a complete program, regardless of its size, includes the following steps: (1) determining the purpose of the program, (2) selecting the appropriate tests, (3) administering the tests, (4) scoring the tests, (5) analyzing and interpreting the test scores, (6) using the results, (7) retesting, (8) making suitable records and reports. To these steps another should be added—providing inservice education in all phases of the testing program. This step should be added at the beginning and should be continuous throughout the program in order to ensure both proper testing and proper use of the test results.

All stages in the program should be provided continuously; no one stage should ever be considered finished and left behind. Purposes, for example, are not determined once for all but must be regularly reviewed and from time to time revised in keeping with faculty growth and with developments in testing and in education in general.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD TEST

The selection of a test is important and is not always easy even when undertaken in a careful, thoughtful manner. As in the case of other choices, test selection is not always made on the basis of intelligent deliberation. Ross[17] aptly compared some test buyers to some car buyers. Some people, he said, buy cars because they know what to look for and take care to buy cars that have the qualities sought. Other people, however, are sold cars because of the appeal of a fancy radiator, radio, cigarette lighter, or some other gadget. Likewise, some school people buy tests because they find in them the qualities that a good test should have. Others, however, are sold tests because of an appealing title, attractive manual, a profile chart on the title page, or some other special feature.

[15] E. L. Shostrom and L. M. Brammer, *The Dynamics of the Counseling Process*, pp. 75–76. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952.
[16] Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

A good test *is* one that possesses three qualities to a high degree—validity, reliability, and practicability or usability.

Validity

Validity indicates the degree to which a test measures that which it is supposed to measure. The title of a test should tell what it is supposed to measure, but the truthfulness or the validity of a test cannot be assumed from its title. Naming a wheelbarrow an automobile does not make it a car. Neither does naming a test of technical vocabulary a test of mechanical aptitude make it one. Without validity *a test is worthless.* Hence, validity is the first thing to be considered in selecting a test.

There are two methods of judging the validity of a test. One is subjective—the use of logic or opinion. The other is objective—the use of quantitative or statistical procedures. To examine the contents of a standardized algebra test and to appraise the degree to which it is a true measure of the objectives of an algebra course is to use the subjective method. To select some variable as the criterion (standard) of that which is to be measured and then to compute the coefficient of correlation to discover the degree of relationship between the test scores and the criterion data is to use the statistical or quantitative method. For example, the criterion selected for validating a scholastic aptitude test for college freshmen might be the *average grades made by the students tested during their freshman year in college.*

Super[18] classifies the criteria against which tests can be validated into the following categories: *(1)* proficiency measures *(measures of information and skill), (2)* output *(number of units produced within a given time or quality of output on the basis of evaluation by experts),* (3) ratings of performance, (4) self-ratings and (5) administrative acts (promotions, raise in pay, dismissal, and the like). None of these criteria is wholly satisfactory because none is sufficiently reliable or relevant. Promotions, for example, are not always made on the basis of merit. The ratings given an individual by one person may differ greatly from the ones given him on the same traits by another person. Furthermore, the ratings given an individual by one person today may be different from the ones given him by the same person tomorrow. Finally, research studies repeatedly show school marks to be of low reliability and so not a good criterion against which to validate tests of scholastic aptitude.

In one of its reports on recommendations the Committee on Test Standards of the American Psychological Association[19] emphasizes that validity is not an absolute characteristic of a test. Four types of validity are con-

[18] Super, *op. cit.,* pp. 36–37.
[19] APA Committee on Test Standards, "Technical Recommendations for Psychological Test and Diagnostic Techniques; Preliminary Proposal," *The American Psychologist,* 7:467–471, August, 1952.

sidered in the report—predictive validity, status validity, content validity, and congruent validity.

The correlation between the test and subsequent criteria indicates the predictive validity of the test. This type of validity is necessary in a test designed for screening candidates for admission to a school of professional training. Status validity signifies correlation between the test and concurrent external criteria. Whereas the future is the time reference for predictive validity, the time of testing is the time reference for status validity. A test, for example, that discriminates between two groups has status validity. To use an illustration from the APA report: "An interest test which discriminates between accountants and engineers (status validity) will not necessarily predict which students will become satisfied engineers or accountants." Thus a test may have status validity but not predictive validity, or vice versa.

Content validity indicates that the test measures the specific type of behavior which is "the goal of training or some similar activity." Educational achievement examinations should be examined for their content validity. Congruent validity denotes correspondence between scores on the test and other indicators of the psychological attribute that the test is designed to measure. The congruent validity of an intelligence test, for example, may be established by showing that the test has substantial correlation with the Binet test or some other test generally accepted as a good measure of mental ability.

When validity is reported in a test manual, the evidence should be presented; and it should be made clear what type of validity is referred to. No manual, the APA Committee states, should report only "This test is valid." Only when the meaning is clear from the test content should the unqualified term "validity" be employed.

Test authors and publishers frequently fail to provide sufficient information about the validity of their tests because of the difficulty in finding adequate criteria for validation. The selection of a good criterion is further complicated by the fact that the one selected may have validity as an immediate criterion but may not be very useful as an ultimate one. Super[20] illustrates this point as follows:

> If grades in medical school, for example, are used as an index of success, some men with good academic ability but poor social adjustment will be rated as more successful than certain other students with somewhat less academic ability but superior social adjustment, whereas if an ultimate criterion of success in the practice of medicine can be utilized the latter may prove to be more successful than the former.

Criteria, such as earnings, output, grades, and ratings, provide external evidence of validity. Some test manuals report only internal evidence of

* Super, *op. cit.*, p.34.

validity, which means that the test has been validated through an analysis of its content, instead of through comparison with some external standard. The evidence may indicate, for example, that each test item or subtest has a high correlation with the total score. If the total score, however, is of low validity, a high correlation of the subordinate parts with it may mean only that they are also of low validity. Such evidences of consistency are not an acceptable substitute for external evidence—the only type considered by most authorities as providing an adequate basis for judging the validity of a test.

The statistical procedure generally used in computing the coefficient of correlation between two sets of data is the product-moment method. The r (correlation coefficient) is 1.00 if there is perfect agreement with the criterion; it is .00 if there is no consistent relationship. The nearer the coefficient is to 1.00, the higher the validity is said to be; but, as indicated above, the value of the validity coefficient depends in the final analysis upon the validity of the criterion itself. A correlation coefficient cannot be accepted at face value. Whenever a coefficient is positive, it has value; but in most cases the correlation coefficients, to be useful, should be above .30. Some idea of the meaning of correlation coefficients can be gained from the following table from Super:[21]

Assuming large enough numbers and low enough probable errors, correlation coefficients are generally defined in the following terms:

> .80 and up: very high correlation
> .50 to .80: substantial correlation
> .30 to .50: some correlation
> .20 to .30: slight correlation
> .00 to .20: practically no correlation

Because of the low reliability of the criteria commonly found usable, the validity coefficient is not likely to be above .70. The minimum acceptable validity coefficient is generally set at .45 for a test to be used in guidance. A test with a validity coefficient of less than .45 has little practical value when used alone; but, when combined with other tests, the validity of the combination may be higher with it than without it. Skill in the use of combined predictors is achieved through training and experience.

Validity coefficients as high as .90 are reported by some test makers who validate their tests by measuring the power of the test to differentiate between groups known to be different. To some extent such a test may be valid but not to the extent indicated by the high validity coefficient. Furthermore, the high correlation coefficient does not establish the test as useful for some practical purpose. The scores of such a test

must be interpreted with caution as is brought out in this illustration
from Froehlich and Benson:[22]

It would probably be easy to construct a test which would differentiate be-
tween pupils who had completed first-year algebra and those who had never
studied algebra. On the basis of the test results we might be able to separate a
group of unknown pupils into two groups, those who had studied and those
who had not studied algebra, with 100 per cent accuracy. The test would be a
highly valid instrument for this differentiation. But if we tried to use it as an
achievement test, we might make some serious errors. The pupil who makes
the highest score on such a test may not be the best algebra student. He simply
knows more algebra than the non-algebra pupil. The odds are that he is not
the poorest algebra student, but a test which has been devised to differentiate
between fairly widely separated groups is not necessarily a good instrument to
evaluate performance within one of those groups.

Similarly, a personality test for which a very high validity coefficient
is reported may have some power to differentiate the well-adjusted from
the maladjusted individuals. Such a test, as Darley[23] says, "simply sep-
arates the two extreme groups in the same way that their fellow men
have already separated them."

Reliability

Reliability is the extent to which a test is measuring something con-
sistently. The something that it measures may not, however, be that
which the test is supposed to measure; and so the test may be consistently
wrong instead of consistently right. High reliability does not indicate that
the test is good; but low reliability does indicate that it is poor, that it is
not measuring anything well and may be measuring nothing.

Because it is much easier to determine the reliability of a test than to
establish its validity, some test makers give more attention to reliability
than to validity; and more information is published about the reliability
than the validity of their tests. Consequently, some test users conclude
that reliability is the most important characteristic of a test and that any
highly reliable test is a good one, which is not the case at all. Since valid-
ity means truthfulness, validity is the first quality to be sought in any
test; but reliability is a needed auxiliary.

A number of procedures may be used for determining the reliability
of a test. The most commonly used methods are (1) correlating two sets
of scores obtained from the same test given to the same group at dif-
ferent times (retest reliability); (2) correlating scores obtained on the
same test from two forms of the test, both of which are supposed to

[22] C. P. Froehlich and A. L. Benson, *Guidance Testing*, p. 15. Chicago: Science
Research Associates, 1948.
[23] Darley, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

sample the same ability (equivalent-form reliability); and (3) correlating scores on one half of a test with scores on the other half (split-half reliability). When the split-half method is used, the test is usually divided into "chance halves" by correlating scores for the odd-numbered items with scores for the even-numbered items. The reliability of the whole is then estimated statistically through use of the Spearman-Brown formula.

There is no single standard of reliability for tests. The standard will vary, depending upon the fineness of discrimination required; but most authorities agree with Darley:[24] "There is no excuse for buying a test whose reliability coefficient is less than a correlation of .85. As a matter of fact, for individual work with individual students there are plenty of good tests with reliability coefficients of .90 and up."

The reliability standard for tests to be used with groups ordinarily need not be so high as for tests to be used with individuals, but at times group tests also need to have reliability coefficients of .90 or up. The more variable the group on which the group tests are based, the higher should be the coefficient. For example, the reliability coefficient of a test for use with students at more than one grade level should be higher (.90 or above) than that of a test for use with students at the same grade level (.85 or above).

Practical Aspects

It is not enough for a test to be valid and reliable; it must also be usable. Hence, the selection of a test must be determined in part by the extent to which it can be used without undue expenditure of time, effort, and money. Practical considerations are of special importance when a school has limited funds for the testing service and when tests are to be administered and scored by teachers. Tests that require simple directions to students, little supervision other than observation, and few materials, and that have equivalent forms are the kind generally preferred.

Some tests have one short set of directions for the entire test. Many, however, are broken into separate sections, each with its own set of directions and special time interval. The intervals vary and ordinarily are from one to ten minutes long. Obviously, such tests require more care in administering than do tests with only one set of directions and one time interval. When tests are administered by class teachers or counselors or other regular staff members, instead of by outsiders, and when they are given during a class period rather than during a period ordinarily used for study, assembly, recreation, or some other special activity, the students, in all probability, give the tests more serious consideration and respond better than they do otherwise.

[24] *Ibid.* p. 75.

Needless to say, the significance of the test scores is altered if a test is not administered according to the instructions given in the manual or if it is not scored properly. When many tests are to be scored, the work should be done by machine if this is at all possible; for machine scoring usually means reduced cost and increased accuracy. Tests that are to be scored by hand are more likely to be scored accurately when the scoring directions are simple and clear, the scoring process is objective, the answer keys are complete, and the scorers are *taught*, not just *told*, how to do their work. Even under these conditions there will very likely be some errors in scoring.

The first papers scored by a beginner should be checked at once to discover constant errors, that is, errors made continuously because of misunderstanding of the scoring procedures. All other papers in the set should be checked also to detect variable errors. If it is not practical to have all papers checked by a second person, at least every fifth or sixth paper should be rescored. If many errors are found in any person's scoring, then, of course, all papers scored by that person should be checked by someone else. In all cases the totals for each section and for the whole test should be checked by another person.

Two questions are frequently raised; Should teachers administer tests? and Should teachers score tests? The first question is usually asked in a way that implies doubt regarding the teachers' ability to do the job properly. The best answer to this question is probably the one given some years ago by McCall:[23] "Can teachers be trusted with tests? If not, then teachers ought not to be trusted with 90 per cent of their present functions. We now entrust them with the far more difficult task of teaching reading, creating concepts, and building ideals. Let us not strain at a gnat when we have swallowed fifty elephants."

Questions with regard to the use of teachers as test scorers usually imply doubt concerning the desirability of teachers' giving their time to clerical work. If the school or school system does not have the clerical staff and other facilities needed, scoring is usually done by teachers. The practice is obviously not a good one in terms of economy if the teachers are paid salaries higher than those of clerks. Even if they are not—and some are not—they may not be so efficient in this type of work as clerks who may be able to do the job better and in less time. Some administrators justify the practice of using teachers as scoring clerks on the ground that teachers, by scoring the tests, gain an understanding of the difficulties, strengths, and weaknesses of individual students. These administrators, says Traxler,[24] confuse diagnosis and scoring. "It is reasonable to

[23] W. A. McCall, in *The Test Newsletter*, Teachers College, Columbia University, December, 1936.
[24] Arthur E. Traxler, *Techniques of Guidance*, p. 165. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.

believe that both the diagnosis and the scoring will suffer if the teacher's attention is thus divided between two unrelated activities."

The practice of using students as test scorers is of doubtful worth and in certain respects undesirable. Few writers recommend it.

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CHAPTER 3

Tests: Measures of Intelligence and Achievement

Tests have been developed for measuring various types of behavior. Certain kinds, such as tests of intelligence and achievement, should be provided early in the guidance testing program and included for use with all students. Certain other kinds, such as tests of special aptitudes, should be added gradually and may never be needed for all students in a particular school.

INTELLIGENCE TESTS

While intelligence is defined in many different ways, the tests are based mainly on definitions in terms of ability to succeed scholastically. Consequently, such tests are being referred to with increasing frequency as tests of "scholastic aptitude." Even as measures of scholastic aptitude these tests are, in the main, restricted to the measurement of certain aspects of abstract intelligence. Were the tests more comprehensive measures of general intelligence or scholastic aptitude than they are, some students who rank high with regard to one aspect of abstract intelligence might be found not to rank so high with regard to other aspects or other types of intelligence.

In general, abstract intelligence is the ability to understand ideas and the relationships among them. Since ideas are expressed by symbols, tests of intelligence commonly seek to measure the ability to comprehend and to use symbols. When the symbols used are words, the ability measured is referred to as "verbal ability." When the symbols used are numbers and such symbols as geometrical figures, the ability measured is referred to as "numerical" or "quantitative ability." Success in school, as the schools are today, is ordinarily closely related to abstract intelligence; so such tests do serve to indicate roughly the educational level that may be attained by the individual tested.

Intelligence tests are commonly validated against school marks or some similar index of school success. On the basis of such criteria they fre-

quently show high validity because verbal ability is the greatest contributor to scholastic success, as commonly measured. Tests achieving the high validity, Guilford[1] points out, "may be the result of a vicious circle which has overstressed verbal ability in education." In order to gain more light on this point, he says, we need tests of scholastic aptitude that are more in line with the genuine objectives of education, that is, tests that measure reasoning and creative ability as well as verbal ability. Such tests might not show as high validity in terms of present criteria for scholastic success, but the development and use of such tests might contribute to the improvement of education in terms of other criteria. It is this type of test, as well as tests free of "socioeconomic bias" that Eells[2] and some others have been trying to develop.

Socioeconomic bias is another limitation of many intelligence tests, for the tests include material with which children of certain socioeconomic groups have had more experience than those of other groups. Therefore, the tests are better measures of the ability of children at some socioeconomic levels than at others. Joe from the wrong side of the tracks may be just as bright as Joe from the right side of the tracks, but the test data indicate otherwise, largely because the test reflects the experiences and the social environment of right-side-of-the-tracks Joe better than those of wrong-side-of-the-tracks Joe.

Nonverbal tests of intelligence have been developed for use with individuals who do not speak English, who have some language handicap, who are unable to read or have a serious reading deficiency, or who have had limited opportunity for education. Such tests are sometimes used in schools to supplement verbal tests. They are probably used most frequently in the elementary schools. The intelligence tests used beyond the elementary grades are predominantly verbal in character, but performance or nonverbal tests are sometimes used with high-school students to determine their aptitude in some industrial art course, such as a course in shop work or mechanical drawing.

Certain intelligence tests are designed for use with individuals only. The two best-known tests of this type are, perhaps, the revised Stanford-Binet Scale and the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale. Because standardized upon adults as well as upon adolescents, the Wechsler-Bellevue test[3] is more appropriate than the Stanford-Binet test for use with adolescents and adults. The Binet is mainly verbal in content; the Wechsler-Bellevue is part verbal and part performance. Both are oral

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[2] J. P. Guilford in O. K. Buros, editor, *The Third Mental Measurements Yearbook*, p. 823. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1949.
[3] K. W. Eells et al., *Intelligence and Cultural Differences: A Study of Cultural Learning and Problem-Solving.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.
[4] The Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children is a downward extension of the Wechsler-Bellevue test, which is standardized for children aged five through fifteen.

scales; that is, they are administered in the style of an oral interview. The scoring of both is intricate, and at times some close decisions are left to the examiner's judgment. To administer, score, and interpret these tests properly, the examiner needs special training. These tests, therefore, should never be used by workers who have not met the requirements for certification.

One-score Tests. Intelligence tests may be classified into general groups according to the type of score or scores that they yield. Those that provide only a total score or only one IQ are frequently referred to as the "old type of test," for the first intelligence tests (the Binet and the Binet-type scales) were of this kind. Certain important group tests of this type are briefly described below.

The Otis tests (World Book Company) are among the simplest and easiest and most economical to administer and to score of all tests of general ability. For purposes of predicting educational success they compare very favorably with other more intricate measures. There are two Otis tests in current use—the Quick-Scoring Test of Mental Ability and the Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability. The first is a revision of the second and is generally considered a better test because of certain improvements in its contents and scoring, but its norms are less adequate. Each test has equivalent forms that cover the intermediate grades, high school, and college.

The Kuhlman-Anderson Tests (Personnel Press, Inc.) contain batteries for all school grades, including the kindergarten, and for adults. The tests are arranged in nine booklets with ten tests each. They are relatively less dependent upon reading skill than most other group tests and offer a better balance of verbal, numerical, and spatial material than most other group tests in their class. They are, however, much more difficult to administer and to score than the other tests. The timing is different for the various subtests, and at the lower levels some time intervals are as short as ten seconds. Research shows that, in comparison with others, these tests rank high in validity and reliability.

The Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability (Houghton Mifflin Company) is a good test, one constructed with care and expertness. It provides two forms for its three batteries (elementary school, high school, and college). Administration is easy and requires only about thirty minutes. Scoring is by the Clapp-Young self-marking device (carbon-copy record); so an answer key is not required. The validation criteria for the test are scholastic achievement and scores on other commonly used tests of mental ability. In content and standardization this test ranks with the better group tests and has the advantages of self-scoring and low cost.

The Pintner General Ability Tests, Verbal Series (World Book Com-

pany) are not so easy to administer as some other group tests, but they are considered among the best for school use. There are four batteries —primary, elementary, intermediate, and advanced. Each test has been subjected to careful statistical treatment, and information regarding the findings is given in the manual.

The Terman-McNemar Test of Mental Ability (World Book Company) is a revision of the Terman Group Test of Mental Ability, which was a standard intelligence test for many years. The arithmetical and numerical subtests contained in the old test have been dropped, making the new test primarily one of verbal ability. Hence, for certain purposes it would need to be supplemented with some measure of quantitative ability.

The Ohio State University Psychological Test (Science Research Associates) measures scholastic aptitude and reading ability and is designed for use with high-school and college students and adults. This test and the American Council on Education Psychological Examination (described below) are probably the tests used most frequently for measuring scholastic aptitude or general intelligence at the college level. Both are validated against grade point averages. The norms for the Ohio State University Test are based upon samples of adequate size but drawn mainly from one state. They do not have the national scope of the ACE norms. The reliabilities for different forms of both tests have been found consistently high.

The Army General Classification Test, First Civilian Edition (Science Research Associates) is the Second World War substitute for the Army Alpha Test of the First World War. It measures verbal comprehension, numerical reasoning, and spatial relations and is designed for use with adolescents and adults. Because this test was developed for use with inductees (male and female), the authors tried to omit items that might be affected by cultural inequalities, especially with respect to formal schooling. The AGCT is a self-administering test that requires about forty minutes. The pin-punch answer pads for the hand-scored forms make scoring quick and easy. The lack of adequate norms for college students makes this test less useful to school guidance workers than the two tests named in the preceding paragraph.

Tests with Separate Scores on Verbal and Nonverbal Material. A second type of intelligence test seeks to measure both general intelligence and special aspects of intelligence, or, as sometimes stated, the general factor of intelligence and certain specialized group factors. Tests of this type yield two-part scores (language and nonlanguage) and a total or gross score. Some, such as the California Test of Mental Maturity, give separate scores for the subtests that produce the two-part scores but do not provide norms for the interpretation of the subtest scores.

Because these tests give separate scores on verbal and nonverbal material, some writers believe that they have an advantage over the one-score tests in being more diagnostic of special abilities and disabilities. Others doubt that the tests have real diagnostic value. Some are inclined not to believe that the "factors" measured by the subtests are independent variables and call to question the use of three IQ's, stating that, if the subtests are actually independent or quasi-independent, the total IQ is without meaning. Also, some protest the use of the term "factor" for other than an ability cluster located through factor analysis (the isolation of traits or aptitudes through statistical analysis). Tests of this group, however, are widely used; and some are considered superior instruments. Among the best known are two group tests—the California Test of Mental Maturity and the American Council on Education Psychological Examinations—and an individual test—the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale.

The California Test of Mental Maturity (California Test Bureau) has five series (preprimary, primary, elementary, intermediate, and advanced), which contain tests of memory, spatial relations, mathematical reasoning, logical reasoning, and verbal concepts. This test yields three IQ's—language, nonlanguage, and total. There are two ACE Psychological Examinations (Educational Testing Service), one for high-school students and one for college freshmen. These tests yield two partial scores, the Q (quantitative) and the L (linguistic) scores, and a gross score. The authors state that for the scientific and technical curricula the quantitative tests may be more significant than the linguistic.

On the basis of some research reports, differential use of the Q and L scores does not seem warranted. The research studies of Anderson[4] and his coworkers, for example, show that the L score is a better index of general aptitude than the Q score and that neither is a good index of special aptitude. The L scores have been found as satisfactory as the Q scores for predicting success in courses in science and mathematics and, because of the close relationship to reading ability, more satisfactory for predicting success in English and other courses that are primarily verbal in nature.

The Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale is the individual test that belongs to this group. It yields a verbal IQ, a nonverbal IQ, and an IQ for the full scale. Like the Q score of the ACE test, the nonverbal IQ of the Wechsler-Bellevue scale has been found to be of little value in predicting general scholastic success. Because the IQ's derived from this

scale are not based upon established conceptions of the IQ, some criticism has been directed against the scale; but, as Freeman[3] says, while the criticism may be warranted, it "does not apply to the value of the scale as such." The test is widely used in psychological clinics and has been endorsed by many clinicians as one of the most satisfactory of the available scales.

The authorities agree that breaking down the test scores into its component parts, as is done in the California, the ACE, and the Wechsler-Bellevue tests, is a refinement that is highly desirable; but most believe that much more study is needed before valid tests of this type can be developed. At present, the differential use of quantitative and verbal scores is held problematical, the general conclusion being that these tests have not yet demonstrated value for diagnostic purposes and that the full score is to be regarded as probably the most valid measure that these tests yield.

Tests of Aptitude and Ability. A third type of test is represented by a battery of tests that measures several kinds of abilities and yields a score for each ability measured with norms provided for each score. These tests are often referred to as "aptitude and ability tests" and may be described as a compromise between tests of intelligence and tests of special aptitudes. They are based on the assumption that intelligence is not one aptitude or ability but a constellation of aptitudes.

The Yale Educational Aptitude Tests (Educational Records Bureau) are of this group and were one of the first batteries of this type developed. These tests were originally intended for selecting college students and forecasting college achievement, but they are now available for use with high-school students. The battery contains tests designed to reveal a person's relative aptitude or ability in the areas of (1) verbal facility, (2) linguistic ability, (3) verbal reasoning, (4) quantitative reasoning, (5) mathematical aptitude, (6) spatial visualizing, and (7) mechanical ingenuity. Crawford[4] states that the seven individual scores may be considered as having roughly directional significance for three broad areas: tests (1), (2), and (3) toward social sciences; (3), (4), and (5) toward pure science and mathematics; and (5), (6), and (7) toward applied science.

The utility of this type of battery in educational guidance can probably be best shown through an illustration taken from Crawford's report. Figure 1 represents the actual graph of scores made by one student —John Doe. The percentile scale shows the standing of each score in

[3] F. S. Freeman, *Theory and Practice of Psychological Testing*, p. 168. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1950.
[4] A. B. Crawford and P. S. Burnham, *Forecasting College Achievement*, pp. 136-139. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946.

terms of the per cent of all scores that it excels. The interpretation[†] of
these scores is given as follows:

Portraying an individual's test profile in this manner makes it possible for
his counselor to evaluate relative promise for various upper-class majors which
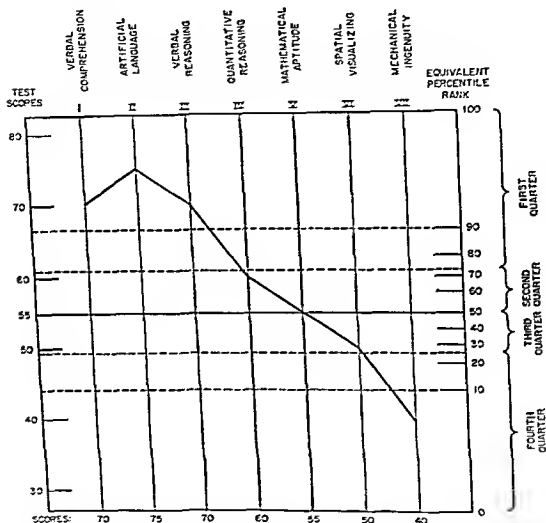
Fig. 1. Profile graph showing individual performance on educational aptitude tests.
(A. B. Crawford and P. S. Burnham, *Forecasting College Achievement*, p. 141.
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946. Reproduced by permission of the
publishers.)

the student may be considering. Thus John Doe ranks within the top 5% or
10% of his class on all three verbal-linguistic tests and nearly at the 70th per-
centile in quantitative reasoning. While less outstanding in mathematics, he
should be competent to handle that subject, since his aptitude therefor is
slightly above the class average. On the other hand, he is likely to find me-
chanical drawing and engineering troublesome. He would certainly not be

† *Ibid.*, p. 142.

making the most fruitful use of his undoubted talents by pursuing technological studies. Of course John need not concentrate in English or foreign languages just because his top scores lie in that general area; if more interested in government, history, economics or philosophy, for example, he should be able (from this evidence) to obtain honors therein with requisite application.

To carry this illustrative case further, let us suppose that John's first term grades are: English B, history C, Spanish D, mathematics C, chemistry D. He is then obviously not performing at all up to scholastic capacity. *Why not*, of course, the data fail to reveal; but the fact remains. A student might, through lack of interest or physical malaise during the test sessions, fail to do justice to his aptitudes *as measured by a battery*; that is, he could make a decidedly poorer test record than properly represents his real capacities. But he cannot even by chance make a substantially *better* one. This particular John Doe is a very able lad, especially in certain fields. The contrast between his profile and the grades postulated above would give a dean or counselor definite, objective proof of the student's academic lethargy. John may prefer to exert indubitable talents along other lines—"heeling" the college daily, speaking at political meetings, reading independently, making touchdowns or perhaps just having fun. So long as he keeps out of serious trouble and obtains reasonably acceptable marks, it seems to be the inalienable privilege of an American college student, if he so chooses, to regard the pursuit of learning as secondary to other goals. Yet John cannot, in the face of such evidence, claim *inability* to do superior classroom work; and his counselor can at least make it clear that he *isn't being fooled a bit* by specious protestations of earnest endeavor.

Another aptitude and ability battery that is being used in high schools and junior colleges is the Differential Aptitude Tests (Psychological Corporation). Integrated in this battery are tests of verbal reasoning, numerical ability, abstract reasoning, space relations, mechanical reasoning, clerical speed and accuracy, and language usage (spelling and sentences). Alternate forms are available for retesting purposes. The total time requirement is about three hours, but the tests may be administered in two or three sessions.

Guilford and Zimmerman consider such a battery of unique tests (tests designed to *measure independent factors*) to be the most effective and economical for guidance purposes. They hope to prepare eventually a complete battery of about twenty tests. At present the Guilford-Zimmerman Aptitude Survey (Sheridan Supply Co.) contains seven tests: verbal comprehension, general reasoning, numerical operations, perceptual speed, spatial orientation, spatial visualization, and mechanical knowledge. This battery is for use with grades 9 through 16, but at present only norms for men college students are available. It is expected that others will be added soon.

Another battery that is very useful in the educational and vocational

guidance of adolescents and youth is the United States Employment Service General Aptitude Test Battery. This battery was developed for counseling rather than selection purposes, but its use is generally restricted to the Employment Service. In many communities, however, the school and state employment people work in close cooperation; and arrangements can be made for high-school students to receive testing and vocational counseling service through the employment service office. Also, in certain situations and under certain conditions the battery of tests is released for use in high schools and junior colleges. These tests are subjected to continuous study, and so revisions may be expected.

The Chicago Tests of Primary Abilities (Science Research Associates) are also a differential aptitude battery but are unlike the others in basic theory. They are designed to measure six independent factors: verbal meaning, word fluency, reasoning, memory, number, and space. Thurstone[8] says that the objective in constructing the tests was to develop tests in which there is a heavy saturation of a primary factor with other factors being minimized. Some other authorities doubt that special abilities can be assessed through tests as short as the ones in the Chicago PMA battery; and some, such as Crawford,[9] do not consider the tests sufficiently "pure." Burt[10] finds that "the 'composite score' for each primary ability has fairly high saturations (often as much as .57 or .59) for other abilities, as well as for the particular ability which it is intended to measure." While the research reports do not indicate that the Chicago tests are of high practical value for guidance purposes, the tests are seen as trail blazers that are opening the way for intelligence tests that are more refined and valid than any we now have.

In student personnel work intelligence tests are used chiefly for discovering the superior students, for appraising a student's chance at success in particular educational and vocational programs, for learning the extent to which a student is applying himself to his school work, and for determining relative importance of deficiencies in background knowledge and mental ability and lack of industry as primary reasons for a student's failure. Conclusions are not based, however, on test scores alone; other evidence is also considered.

The tests named above are only a few examples of the several kinds of intelligence or scholastic aptitude tests currently available. The lists given here and in the following chapters do not include all acceptable tests of the kinds described. There are other good tests which are not named and

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[8] L. L. Thurstone and T. G. Thurstone, *Manual of Instructions: The Chicago Tests of Primary Mental Abilities*, p. 5. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1943.

[9] Crawford and Burnham, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–215; A. B. Crawford, "Some Observations on Primary Mental Abilities Battery in Action," *School and Society*, 51:585–592, May 4, 1940.

[10] Cyril Burt in O. K. Buros, editor, *The Third Mental Measurements Yearbook*, p. 368. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1949.

which should also be considered by the members of school committees on testing. Nor is all needed information given here about the tests which are discussed. Before any test is seriously considered for adoption, a specimen test should be carefully studied, the information given in the manual examined; and, as stressed in the closing section of the next chapter, *other sources of information should be consulted.*

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

When achievement tests are being selected, both curricular and statistical validity *should be considered.* Curricular validity is the extent to which the test content is representative of the course content. Some test makers do not offer information regarding the validity of their achievement tests because they believe that the validity must be determined in terms of the objectives of the school in which the tests are used.

A high correlation with a criterion is not always sufficient evidence that a test is a good measure of the achievement supposedly defined by the criterion because the criterion itself may be low in validity or reliability or both. Some teaching, for example, is largely factual in nature, stressing verbal memory rather than comprehension and appreciation. Many achievement tests are also factual in nature, being tests of verbal memory and neglecting or omitting the measurement of attitudes, appreciation, critical discrimination, analysis and synthesis of materials, ability to apply knowledge, creativity, and the like. Such tests and such teaching correlate very highly. Unfortunately, when such tests are used to evaluate the effectiveness of teaching, they help to foster such teaching; for they influence both the classroom methods of teachers and the study habits of students, *if preparation for the tests becomes a major objective.*

Achievement tests are being improved through acceptance of a broad concept of validity based upon acceptance of broad educational objectives. More and more curricular validity is being thought of in terms of expected or desired reactions on the part of students, and course objectives are being considered in terms of the kind of behavior expected as well as in terms of knowledge and skills. Intangibles are, of course, far more difficult to test as well as to teach than are tangibles; but that intangibles as well as tangibles can be measured was demonstrated by some educators who participated in the *Eight Year Study of the Progressive Education Association.* Certain reports[11] on the experimental study show that definite progress was made in measuring understanding, ability to use information, and changes in attitudes and beliefs. Tests were developed that require students to generalize from data drawn from the

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[11] E. R. Smith, R. W. Tyler, and the evaluation staff, *Appraising and Recording Student Progress: Adventures in American Education,* Vol. III. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

physical sciences and the social studies, to use facts and principles in explaining scientific phenomena, to draw inferences from subject matter, and to apply social-science generalizations to specific situations. Another example of tests that attempt to measure more than discrete items of information and routine skill is the Watson-Glaser Test of Critical Thinking (World Book Company), which is arranged in two batteries—"discrimination in reasoning" and "logical reasoning."

Achievement tests for elementary schools are ordinarily in the form of a battery of tests. Some batteries, such as the Modern School Achievement Tests (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University), are single batteries covering all elementary-school grades. Others are series of overlapping batteries for different grades. Probably the best known and most used tests of this type are the Iowa Every-Pupil Tests of Basic Skills (Science Research Associates), the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (World Book Company), the California Achievement Tests (California Test Bureau), and the Stanford Achievement Test (World Book Company).

Hundreds of achievement tests have been developed for use in secondary schools and colleges. Most measure information and routine skills in some subject. Some of the more recently published tests measure achievement in broad subject fields rather than in specific course areas, being, for example, tests of mathematics rather than tests of arithmetic or algebra or geometry and tests of social studies rather than tests of the history of a particular nation or civics or sociology. The Iowa Tests of Educational Development and some of the Cooperative Achievement Tests are of this type.

The Cooperative Tests (Cooperative Test Division, Educational Testing Service) are generally held to be of superior quality. They are primarily tests of information and skills. In addition to separate tests of achievement in the major academic subject fields in high schools and colleges, the Cooperative Tests include two series of General Achievement Tests for grades 10 through 12. The first series includes tests of general proficiency in the fields of social studies, natural sciences, and mathematics. The second series consists of more factual tests in the same subject fields. Two tests that cut across subject boundaries have been developed for college students. They are the Cooperative Contemporary Affairs Test and the Cooperative General Culture Tests.

The publishers of the Cooperative Tests also publish some of the instruments developed through the Eight Year Study and referred to above —the Interpretation of Data Test designed for measuring ability to perceive relationships and to recognize limitations in data, tests of application of principles in science, a test of appreciation of literature, and a test of logical reasoning.

The Iowa Placement Examinations (State University of Iowa) are also generally acknowledged to be of high quality. Like the Cooperative Tests, they are used in colleges for selection purposes and as aids in freshman guidance. They were developed for use with high-school seniors and college freshmen; and so, unlike the Cooperative Tests, they are not very satisfactory for use below the twelfth grade. These tests include two series that cover the major academic fields. The tests contained in the training series are primarily achievement tests, whereas those in the aptitude series are in some ways more tests of general intelligence or scholastic aptitude than tests of educational achievement.

The Iowa Tests of Educational Development (Science Research Associates) were originally developed for the "fall testing program" of the Iowa high schools. This battery is based on extensive research and was developed to replace the subject examination program which, according to Lindquist,[11] was found inadequate because of certain limitations: (1) failure to give information concerning common traits or characteristics because all students did not take same tests (enrolled in different courses, students took only the tests given in those courses); (2) failure to provide regularly evidence of achievement in particular areas (if, for example, a student was not enrolled any year in a social-studies course, he was not examined that year in social studies); (3) undue emphasis upon the immediate objectives of a particular subject; (4) stress upon temporary outcomes as opposed to the more lasting ones; (5) neglect of the effects of out-of-class experiences, incidental learning, and self-education; and (6) failure to show relative improvement in growth in various areas.

The Iowa tests are a compromise between tests of scholastic aptitude and tests of educational achievement in much the same way that the Differential Aptitude tests are a compromise between tests of general intelligence and tests of special aptitudes. The Iowa tests have two series, one for high school and one for college. The high-school series includes a test of the student's ability to express himself effectively and correctly in written English; tests of ability to interpret reading materials in three fields (social studies, natural sciences, and literature); a test of ability to use sources of information; tests of general verbal ability, of understanding of basic social concepts, of general background information in the natural sciences, and of quantitative thinking or general mathematical reasoning ability.

These tests are designed for use in grades 9 through 13, but the difficulty level has been found somewhat high for the ninth grade and some-

[11] E. F. Lindquist, "Some Criteria of an Effective High School Testing Program," in A. E. Traxler, editor, *Measurement and Evaluation in the Improvement of Education*, pp. 17–33. Washington: American Council on Education, 1951.

what low for the thirteenth. On the whole, this battery has been well received and is rated by some authorities as being among the best for use in the senior high school. Because these tests are tests of understanding as well as of factual information and stress thinking rather than memory, they are useful aids in placing in high-school and college classes students whose education has been interrupted by military service.

In spite of recent improvements made in educational achievement tests, especially in batteries developed for use with high-school students, strong criticisms continue to be made against achievement tests. The tests do not, the critics say, cover the course objectives or course content sufficiently well, failing to cover, for example, the laboratory and field experiences which many courses provide. Also, state the critics, the tests fail to measure such important outcomes as favorable orientation toward a subject and the social benefits derived from class discussions.

The tests that are supposedly based upon acceptance of broad educational objectives are criticized for not showing greater improvement over traditional achievement tests. While the Cooperative General Culture Tests, for example, are hailed by some critics as much needed innovations, as tests that cut across subject boundaries, they are severely criticized by others for not disregarding course boundaries and for being no more than a collection of information items. Some reviewers complain that these tests are not satisfactory measures of general culture because they fail to cover, except incidentally, the important areas of social, family, and vocational orientation and adjustment; do not cover sufficiently well philosophy, religion, personal and community health; and do not contain items that require a grasp of relationships, implications, and treods and a display of critical discrimination. Others, however, consider the tests a good start toward the development of tests that are in line with modern education, acknowledge the difficulties involved in developing the kind of test intended, and believe that new tests will eventually follow that will give students a better opportunity to apply their school learning to significant contemporary developments.

Standardized tests of achievement in specific subjects are criticized even more severely than tests of general educational achievement. Most tests, for example, in the field of English (tests of vocabulary, reading, English usage, and literature), are considered too narrow or limited. In general, tests of English are found not to measure ability to use English effectively but to measure, instead, ability to recognize correct English. They are more often tests of mechanical form than tests of literary comprehension and appreciation and are held inadequate because they appear more tests of quickness of perception than tests of broad grasp and depth of penetration. Most vocabulary tests provide mainly information regarding a student's ability to recognize synonyms; they give little information about his functioning vocabulary or his ability to deal with

words. Finally, many reading tests do not separate scores for rate and for comprehension; and so the total score for a fast inaccurate reader may be higher than the score for a slow accurate reader.

The way in which the questions are presented limits the value of many, probably most, tests. Even in the best tests, for example, students are usually instructed to select the right answer from a number of given items. "It is the examinee's task," Freeman[13] points out, "only to select certain of these as being correct or sounder or more relevant than others. There is nothing creative, original, or spontaneous in such a task; individual critical thinking is reduced, often to a minimum."

With all their defects, however, achievement tests are not without value. Not to include some of the best ones in the guidance testing program would be unwise. Not to use them cautiously and with full awareness of their limitations would be even more unwise. While well-constructed teacher-made evaluation devices can generally yield better information than standardized achievement tests regarding the progress of the students in a particular class toward achievement of certain objectives, standardized achievement tests are useful aids for diagnosing a student's specific learning needs, for identifying his relative strengths and weaknesses, for studying his progress, and for predicting his success in particular curricula. In some colleges achievement tests are being used not only for selecting students and for guiding them in their choice of curricula and courses but also for placing students in refresher courses and in advanced courses.[14] This practice helps to decrease the number of students who fail and, by doing away with undesirable duplication, helps to save time and to prevent boredom for some students.

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[13] Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

[14] Placing students in advanced courses need not imply accreditation for the courses skipped. The use of test results in educational placement for determining equivalence of achievement is held acceptable, but their use for accreditation is held debatable. Many writers consider it highly undesirable.

Tests: Measures of
Special Aptitudes, Interests, and Personality

Measures of special aptitudes, interests, and personality are generally added to a school guidance testing program after tests of intelligence and achievement and are frequently provided for some students only rather than for all.

TESTS OF SPECIAL APTITUDES

According to some authorities, such as Bingham[1] and Freeman,[2] aptitude tests are tests that will predict success to some degree. Good performance on the test is considered to be evidence that success in the work or activity will follow specialized training. Bingham stated that the concept of aptitude rests upon three assumptions which he summarized as follows:[3]

An individual's potentialities are not all equally strong. One can learn to do certain things more easily and better than other things, and can develop greater interest and satisfaction in some kinds of activity than in others.

Individuals differ one from another in their potentialities.

Many of these differences are relatively stable. They tend to persist. Any changes which subsequently take place in an individual's potentialities occur within limits imposed by his present constitution.

In stating that aptitudes are relatively constant, Bingham did not imply that changes do not take place, but instead, that "changes are seldom sudden and that they will occur within limits which can often be ascertained in advance."

The differences between individuals are more frequently narrow than

[1] W. V. Bingham, *Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing,* p. 72. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937.

[2] F. S. Freeman, *Theory and Practice of Psychological Testing,* p. 262. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1950.

[3] Bingham, *op. cit.,* p. 24. The italics are in the original.

wide. With respect to almost any measurable ability most individuals differ very little from the average of the general population. Relatively few individuals are found at either limit of the range. This tendency of the abilities of individuals in a representative population to cluster around the average for that group, Bingham pointed out, "is matched by a similar tendency for the different abilities of a single individual to cluster about his own average."

Super¹ states that any definition of aptitude used as the basis for scientific study should be in terms of four characteristics: specificity, unitary composition, facilitation of learning some activity or type of activity, and constancy. He summarizes evidence to show that an aptitude is a discrete unitary characteristic closely related to success in a particular occupation. In short, he holds the "scientific concept of aptitude important to vocations" as opposed to the "popular concept of aptitude for a vocation." If, for example, we say that a student has considerable aptitude for law, we mean that he apparently has certain traits and abilities that qualify him for success in law. Here we use the term "aptitude" according to the popular concept. If, on the other hand, we say that the student has skill in logic, we are saying that he has one of the specialized aptitudes important in law, an aptitude that is important in other occupations also. Here we use the term "aptitude" according to the scientific concept.

In developing aptitude tests, the test makers usually follow one of two procedures. According to the first method, the particular occupation or activity for which aptitude is to be measured is analyzed; and test items are then devised for revealing the component abilities. This method is perhaps best illustrated by miniature tests designed for measuring mechanical aptitude. Such tests are small-scale tasks that involve abilities which are the same as or similar to the ones required for the performance of the particular work or activity for which aptitude is being measured. This type of test is often useful for selecting workers. It is not very useful in student personnel work because effective use costs too much in both time and equipment. Paper-and-pencil tests developed according to similar procedures are more useful because less time-consuming and less expensive.

According to the second procedure, different occupations or activities are analyzed into the component factors considered important to success. Relatively independent tests are then developed for measuring each factor. Each test is given different weights in accordance with its importance to success in the different occupations or fields. Individually the tests may not be very valid for predicting success in a particular activity or field, but all or a number combined do give a good basis for prediction.

¹ D. E. Super, *Appraising Vocational Fitness by Means of Psychological Tests*, pp. 59–81. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

Standard batteries of tests developed according to the second procedure for which norms can be developed for various occupations or fields are among the recent developments in tests. Perhaps the best-known battery is the United States Employment Service General Aptitude Test Battery,[5] which yields data on a number of factors and measures most of the aptitudes isolated to date. Reference has already been made in the section on intelligence tests to this battery and to two similar batteries—the Differential Aptitude Tests and the Guilford-Zimmerman Aptitude Survey—that are intended for use with high-school and college students. Although only a relatively few aptitude batteries have been developed for use in student personnel work, others are in the process of being developed and will, no doubt, be available before long.

In school guidance work aptitude batteries are in general more helpful than tests of aptitude for specified activities, such as the tests described below. Use of the latter type is, however, desirable at times for supplementing data from a standard battery or from other sources. The specific combination of tests to be used in a particular case will always depend upon the nature of the problem presented by the student concerned.

Tests of Clerical Aptitude. The factors found to be most important to success in clerical work are general intelligence and speed and accuracy in perceiving numerical and verbal similarities. The requirement with respect to intelligence varies with the level of responsibility of the particular job. As a rule, tests of clerical aptitude are tests of perceptual speed. While a lack of clerical aptitude is indicated by a poor performance on such tests, positive aptitude for a clerical occupation other than the most routine, as Bingham[6] pointed out, calls for more than perceptual speed. Abilities with regard to English usage, spelling, vocabulary, handwriting, and arithmetic are also important. Hence, data from tests of clerical aptitude need to be supplemented with data from intelligence tests and tests of achievement in English and arithmetic.

The test generally held most acceptable is the one that Bingham described some years ago as "the most useful single supplement to the test of general intelligence" for measuring clerical aptitude—the Minnesota Clerical Test (Psychological Corporation). It is a group test in two parts that together require fifteen minutes—eight minutes for number comparison and seven minutes for name comparison. Performance on the test is not closely related to scholastic aptitude and does not seem to be affected significantly by experience or training. When combined with an intelligence test, it is useful for estimating an individual's chance at success in the clerical field, especially at the lower levels of routine work.

[5] B. J. Dvorak, "The New USES General Aptitude Test Battery." *Journal of Applied Psychology.* 31:372–376, August, 1947.
[6] Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

The Minnesota Clerical Test was first designed for adult use and standardized on adults. Later it was made applicable for use with junior- and senior-high-school students. Super[7] recommends that it be used cautiously with adolescents. Because of the lack of sufficient information regarding the effects of maturation on test performance, he suggests use of adult occupational norms for high-school juniors and seniors and use of grade norms with lower-class students when the test is used for purposes of curricular guidance rather than of job placement. Other tests have been developed for use with high-school students that are more comprehensive measures of clerical aptitude than the Minnesota test, but research studies have not shown them to be superior.

Tests of Mechanical Aptitude and Dexterity. Mechanical aptitude is a complex of a number of factors: spatial visualization, perceptual speed, mechanical information, and, perhaps, manual dexterity. Some authorities, such as Traxler,[8] group together tests of mechanical aptitude and manual dexterity. Super,[9] however, summarizes evidence to show that manual dexterity has been demonstrated to be unimportant to mechanical success. He, therefore, groups tests of manual dexterity separately and uses the term "manual dexterities" to distinguish the two types—fine and gross.

Super considers in detail three tests of manual dexterities: the Minnesota Rate of Manipulation Test (Educational Test Bureau), the O'Connor Finger and Tweezer Dexterity Tests (C. H. Stoelting and Co.), the Purdue Pegboard (Science Research Associates). He presents the facts that lead him to conclude that the O'Connor Dexterity tests are helpful with students who are considering work in which skill with the hands or precision or speed in wrist and finger movements is important. Regarding the role of the Minnesota test in school guidance programs, however, he says:[10]

> It is doubtful whether this type of test has any place as a directional instrument in a *school counseling* program. If experience erases the effects of normal individual differences in this type of dexterity, then it is the function of education to provide such experiences in appropriate cases (those of persons who may enter such work, as suggested by intelligence, interest, and socioeconomic status). The test will not be useful in providing data for the making of decisions concerning the choice of semiskilled occupations. It may, on the other hand, give some insight into the assets and liabilities with which a student enters upon new experiences.

In general, there are two types of mechanical aptitude tests: (1) performance tests in which the subject does something with special equip-

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[7] *Super, op. cit.,* p. 165.
[8] Arthur E. Traxler, *Techniques of Guidance*, p. 50. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.
[9] *Super, op. cit.,* pp. 191, 223–224.
[10] *Ibid.,* p. 202. The italics are in the original.

ment and (2) paper-and-pencil tests in which the responses are given on paper.

The Minnesota Mechanical Assembly Test (Marietta Apparatus Company) and the Minnesota Spatial Relations Test (Marietta Apparatus Company) are good examples of the performance tests. The Mechanical Assembly test was constructed for use with junior-high-school students as a means for predicting success in shop courses. The test material includes 33 mechanical objects, each of which is to be assembled within a specified time limit, which varies with the object. A worker needs special training in the use of this test, for it is not an easy one to administer. Since performance on the test has been found to be affected by maturation and experience, the test is more useful with early adolescents than with older subjects. The second test, the Minnesota Spatial Relations Test, consists of four form boards into which parts are to be fitted. Like the first test, it is designed primarily for use with individuals rather than with groups and intended for helping to place students in shop and trade courses.

Paper-and-pencil tests are much less costly than performance tests in both time and materials because they make group administration easy. To a certain extent these tests are also measures of abstract intelligence; for pictures and words are used, instead of mechanical equipment; and all manipulations must be made mentally. This type of test is illustrated by the revised Minnesota Paper Form Board (Psychological Corporation), which presents in printed form the same type of problems contained in the performance test—the Minnesota Spatial Relations Test. In order to select from five geometric figures the one that is made with the disassembled parts presented with each of the 64 sets of figures, the subject must assemble the parts mentally, instead of by hand.

This test has been found helpful with students who are considering trade courses and technical curricula, such as engineering and dentistry. Its value, however, is more negative than positive in that the test is more useful for directing students away from rather than toward such courses and curricula. High performance does not necessarily indicate success, for other traits must be considered, but low performance does indicate that selection of a particular course or curriculum may not be wise.

Other paper-and-pencil tests that have proved useful in helping students to select trade courses and technical curricula are (1) the MacQuarrie Test for Mechanical Ability (California Test Bureau), which measures eye-hand coordination, spatial visualization, and perceptual speed and accuracy; (2) the Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test (Psychological Corporation), which measures mechanical comprehension rather than tool information; and (3) the O'Rourke Mechanical Aptitude Test,

Junior Grade (Psychological Corporation), which measures tool information and mechanical comprehension.

Tests of Aptitude in Art and Music. Appraisal of a student's performance in art or music is, in general, a better basis for judging his chances at success in the field than is appraisal of his performance on a test for aptitude in art or music. Such tests, however, do serve at times as the means of locating students who should be encouraged to explore their possible talent in the field. Then too, as with tests of mechanical aptitude, the tests that are reasonably reliable measures of the functions in art or music that they are designed to measure have value when they indicate that an individual will not profit to any great degree from further instruction because he lacks certain abilities that are required for success in the field.

There are, in general, two types of tests of aptitude in music: (1) measures of the auditory perceptions believed to be required for success in music, and (2) measures of musical achievement and education. Probably the best-known and most widely used test of the first type is the revised Seashore Measures of Musical Talent (Psychological Corporation), which are phonographically presented tests of six aspects of auditory discrimination: pitch, loudness, rhythm, time, timbre, and tonal memory. There are separate tests for unselected persons and for musicians and students of music. The Drake Musical Memory Test (Public School Publishing Co.) and the Interval Discrimination Test (University of Indiana) are also measures of auditory perception. The second type of musical aptitude test measures ability in sight reading and knowledge of technical terms, theory, harmony, and the like. The Kwalwasser-Ruch Tests of Musical Accomplishment (State University of Iowa) and the Kwalwasser Test of Musical Information (State University of Iowa) illustrate this type.

Different basic abilities are measured by the standard tests of aptitude in art. The Meier Art Judgment Test (Bureau of Educational Research and Service, State University of Iowa) is, for example, essentially a measure of aesthetic judgment and appreciation. The Knauber Art Ability Test (Public School Publishing Co.) measures the ability to draw, design, and find flaws in drawings. Some other tests are designed to measure knowledge of technical vocabulary; accuracy of observation; memory for details of perspective, proportion, and shading; and to some extent creative imagination.

In general, the tests of aptitude in music and art offer satisfactory measures of certain functions involved in artistic performance. Some measures of musical aptitude, for example, are reasonably reliable measures of certain auditory functions; and some art aptitude tests measure fairly

well certain capacities, such as the perception of perspective, which are important in art. The tests do not, however, show how good an individual's performance would be in complex situations that require abilities other than those tested; but this is a limitation of standard tests in general.

Tests of Aptitude in the Professions. Tests have been devised for measuring aptitude in certain professions, such as law, medicine, engineering, and teaching. These tests are used mainly for screening candidates for admission to a college or university offering professional training. In some cases use of the test is restricted to the colleges and universities that have institution membership in a particular professional association.

Basically these tests are measures of general ability and achievement. Aptitude tests for medical students, for example, are tests of visual memory, memory for content, scientific vocabulary, comprehension of medical materials, logical reasoning, and ability for quantitative thinking. Tests of aptitude for the study of law measure accurate recall, reading comprehension of legal material, skill in logic, and reasoning by analogy and by analysis. In such tests, as Freeman[11] says, "the form of mental activity being tested is the same as in any other field, but the content is in part specialized," being weighted with the types of materials and problems associated with medicine, law, engineering, or some other profession, in accordance with the intended use of the test.

Usually the criterion for the validity of professional aptitude tests is success in professional studies rather than success in the profession. The criterion is a narrow one but a useful one, for professional training is a hurdle that must be scaled before the profession can be entered. However, as already pointed out, success in professional studies has high validity as an immediate criterion but not as an ultimate one. Scholastic success coupled with low social adjustment may not lead to success in professional practice. Success in both professional training and professional practice requires high general intelligence and certain personality traits as well as the possession of certain special abilities. Information about a student's performance on a scholastic aptitude test or a differential aptitude battery, about his previous school achievement, and about his interest in the profession will together provide a fairly good index of a student's chance at being admitted to the professional training program of his choice.

Tests of Aptitude for Specific School Subjects. Tests have also been developed for measuring aptitude for specified school subjects and, in particular, aptitude in mathematics and languages. Designed according to different patterns and standardized on widely different groups, they do not offer a very good basis for educational guidance because it is difficult to compare data from one test with data from another. In the

main, tests of scholastic aptitude and of educational achievement are more satisfactory than tests of aptitude in specific subjects for predicting success in the major academic fields. Achievement tests that are part of a comprehensive battery prove more useful for this purpose than separate tests because single tests are ordinarily independent units which have been standardized on different groups.

MEASURES OF INTERESTS

Since success in school and vocational work is determined by interest or motivation as well as by ability, tests of academic and vocational interests are useful in student personnel work. Interest, however, cannot be measured as an independent entity because it is related to general intelligence and special aptitudes and is determined in part by the individual's social environment and his opportunity to explore different kinds of activities. It is this complexity, no doubt, that led Greene[12] to assert in the first edition of his book that "actually there is no *measurable* thing called an interest or motive but only a series of acts toward or away from some goal."

After reviewing the research studies on the nature of interests, Super[13] concludes from the facts presented that "an objective theory would recognize the fact of multiple causation, the principle of interaction, and the joint contributions of nature and nurture." He presents a summary statement of such a theory that includes the following:[14]

Interests are the product of interaction between inherited aptitudes and endocrine factors, on the one hand, and opportunity and social evaluation on the other. Some of the things a person does well bring him the satisfaction of mastery or the approval of his companions, and result in interests. Some of the things his associates do appeal to him and, through identification, he patterns his actions and his interests after them; if he fits the pattern reasonably well he remains in it, but if not, he must seek another identification and develop another self-concept and interest pattern.

Because a standardized interest questionnaire or scale permits a quantitative comparison of the ratings of one person with the ratings of many others, a standard inventory shows the relative strength of an interest more clearly than some less objective procedure, such as the interview. Interest inventories are useful for helping a student to make a systematic approach to his problem of choice (choice of curricula, courses, vocations, recreational activities, and the like), for providing teachers and

[12] E. B. Greene, *Measurements of Human Behavior*, p. 439. New York: The Odyssey Press, Inc., 1941. The italics are in the original.

[13] Super, *op. cit.*, Chap. 16.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 406.

counselors with information regarding the student's preferences and aversions, and for helping them to acquire a better understanding of the student's problems of choice and his need for further information and exploratory experiences.

Although inventories of vocational interests are the type most frequently used, inventories of nonvocational interests are also available. Three examples of the nonvocational interest inventories are (1) the Gregory Academic Interest Inventory (Sheridan Supply Co.), which is designed to serve as a means for measuring and comparing the interests of students in various college curricula; (2) the Interest Index (Educational Testing Service), which was developed through the Eight Year Study and consists of items in 14 categories of interest and is intended to help students to choose their courses, curricula, and extracurricular activities, and (3) the Kuder Preference Record—Personal (Science Research Associates), which measures preferences for five different kinds of personal and social activities.

The usefulness of vocational interest tests with high-school students has been questioned because changes in interests occur during adolescence. There is evidence, however, that the interest patterns of adolescents are not so unstable as has been commonly thought but are substantially permanent. The evidence indicates that interest patterns begin to take form in early adolescence, begin to resemble the interests of adults by age fourteen or fifteen, and are becoming fairly well crystallized by the close of the high-school years. The changes that take place through the exploratory experiences of the high-school years seem, in the main, to be changes in the way of clarification, development, and elaboration; or, as stated more concisely by Super,[15] "for most persons adolescent exploration is an awakening to something already there."

The two most useful vocational interest inventories are the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Stanford University Press), in which the interests of adults engaged in different occupations are used as norms, and the Kuder Preference Record—Vocational (Science Research Associates); in which the relative liking for various types of activities is measured. These two instruments are based upon extensive study and research and are commonly judged superior to the other vocational interest tests currently available.

The Strong Vocational Interest Blank has separate blanks for men and women, each of which contains 400 items that deal with occupations, school subjects, amusements, activities, types of people, habits or traits, and offices in organizations. At the present time the blank for men can be scored for 39 occupations and the one for women for 25. Scores for other occupations may be expected because the research on this test is

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[15] *Ibid.*

continuous. The blanks cover occupations at and above the skilled level with the clerical, managerial, and professional occupations being emphasized. Research shows that the scores obtained from the Strong blanks are significant indices of interest patterns, that occupational groups at the higher levels are differentiated by the scores, and that there is a significant relationship between the inventoried interests and such criteria as completion of professional training, achievement or success in an occupation, and vocational stability in terms of staying in the same occupation. This inventory is considered by many authorities to be still today as described in 1937 by Bingham[19]—"the most dependable means available for ascertaining the similarity between a person's interests and those of people actually engaged in specific occupations. . . ." Moreover, although the Strong blank deals with specific occupations, it can, as Super[17] says, "tap interest in a few core fields in which most occupations could probably be placed."

Strong's technique for measuring vocational interest has proved more effective with men than with women. In the blank for women interest in home, as opposed to interest in a career, frequently outweighs the vocational interest. Consequently, the value of the blank for women is reduced, except when used with individuals who have definite career interests. For this reason Dickson[18] recommends that the blank for women be used with caution and preferably with another vocational interest test, such as the Kuder.

The Strong test is easy to administer and is without a time limit. The time needed is usually from thirty minutes to an hour or longer. The scoring, however, is intricate and tedious. To score one blank by hand requires several hours; so the blanks must be machine-scored at a cost of about $1 each.

The Kuder test was developed for use with both high-school and college students, whereas the Strong blanks were developed for use with college students and are based upon the responses of adults. The Kuder inventory yields scores for ten broad areas of interests: outdoor, mechanical, computational, scientific, persuasive, artistic, literary, musical, social service, and clerical. A short form is available in which the outdoor scale is omitted. The test is intended to show the relative strength of different interests within the individual. Separate norms are provided for high-school students and adults. Like the Strong test, the Kuder inventory has no time limit. Pin-punch answer pads make scoring easy. Students can score their own tests, convert the scores into percentile ranks, and plot the results on a profile sheet.

[19] Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[17] Super, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
[18] G. Schneider Dickson in O. K. Buros, editor, *The Third Mental Measurements Yearbook*, p. 676. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1949.

In both the Kuder and the Strong tests however, are probably not so likely as job app‑‑‑‑ tentionally, especially when counseling or training in self-analysis ‑‑ ‑ vided with interest testing.

Many students fail to show through their responses on interest tests strong likes and dislikes or clearly defined preferences. Darley,[19] for example, in studying the use of the Strong blanks with some 1,000 university students found that 525 failed to show clear-cut patterns of interest. Measures of interest are more useful with mature than immature students; for, as Freeman[20] says, they "can have validity only with persons whose lives have been long enough and varied enough to have provided them with experiences of the kind which will enable them to choose between the alternatives presented by each item in the inventories."

Even when students do show clearly defined interest patterns, vocational choice or success cannot be predicted on the basis of the interest data alone. Ability, training, and opportunity for training must be considered also. Failure to give sufficient consideration to the students' abilities and training opportunities has caused some writers[21] to conclude that "the most unfortunate trend in the whole area of guidance testing has been the tendency of some counselors to overemphasize interest test results."

In high schools and colleges vocational interest inventories are usually administered to groups rather than given to students individually. Interest tests are very useful, especially with orientation and vocational guidance groups, for providing a good starting point to serious discussions of vocational interests and goals. The discussions can arouse active interest in the choice of a vocation, stimulate self-insight, and lead many students to attempt objective appraisal of themselves and their plans.

MEASURES OF PERSONALITY

The measures of personality may be roughly classed into three groups —rating scales, inventories or self-rating questionnaires, and projective tests. Rating scales are considered in another chapter; attention is given here to only the personality tests, which fall into two groups—inventories and projective tests.

In the projective test situation the individual responds freely to relatively unstructured stimuli. In doing so, he tends to structure the situa-

[19] J. G. Darley, *Clinical Aspects and Interpretations of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank*, pp. 19–20. New York: Psychological Corporation, 1941.
[20] Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
[21] C. P. Froehlich and A. L. Benson, *Guidance Testing*, pp. 36–37. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1948.

tion according to his own needs and thus unintentionally reveals his personality characteristics. His responses indicate his personality trends. The two best known and most extensively used projective tests are probably the Rorschach and Murray's Thematic Apperception Test. In the Rorschach the individual is shown a series of ink blots and is asked to tell what he sees in them. In the TAT he is shown a series of semi-structured pictures and is asked to make up stories about them. The Rorschach, according to Symonds,[22] is best adapted for bringing out formal factors (clarity and organization of form, presence of movement, use of whole or parts of the ink blots, sensitivity to color, and the like); and the TAT is best adapted for revealing fantasy and interest. There are a number of other projective tests in which unstructured or semi-structured stimuli, such as drawings, toys, pictures of clouds, and incomplete sentences, are used. Most of these tests are complexly scored and interpreted, and very few are easy to administer. To administer, score, and interpret them, a person needs specialized professional training of an advanced nature. *These tests are clinical instruments and so should not be employed by workers not properly trained specifically to use them as well as broadly trained in clinical psychology.*

Personality inventories are series of items, usually in the form of questions to which the responses are usually "Yes," "No," or "?". The items generally deal with feelings about self, others, and environment; traits; adjustment; and overt behavior (acts of sympathy, aggression, etc.). Hundreds of such scales are available today. In the hands of qualified workers the best of them are helpful for getting at aspects of personality and adjustment that are beyond ordinary observation. Thus they have value for identifying students with serious personality or adjustment problems. Even for this purpose, however, they are of limited value because of their uncertain validity.

A good score on a personality test cannot always be considered evidence of good adjustment. A student who is aware of his problems and defects and who is anxious that others not be aware of them also can easily obtain a good score by giving the "right" answers, which are clearly apparent in many instances. In this case a good score is evidence of felt need to compensate for feelings of inferiority rather than evidence of good adjustment. However, while a good score is not always an indication of good adjustment, a poor score is very likely evidence of maladjustment. Therefore, further study should be made of the students with unsatisfactory scores. When a case seems serious, referral should be

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[22] P. M. Symonds, "Survey of Projective Techniques," in *Exploring Individual Differences: Report of the 1947 Invitational Conference on Testing Problems,* pp. 5–18. Washington: American Council on Education, 1948.

made to some specialist qualified to use more refined analytical and diagnostic procedures and able to give the student, or to arrange for him to receive, the therapy indicated to be needed.

Two inventories representative of the ones useful for screening purposes in student personnel work are the Bernreuter Personality Inventory (Stanford University Press) and the Minnesota Personality Scale (Psychological Corporation). The Bernreuter inventory is a measure of neurotic tendency, self-sufficiency, introversion-extroversion, dominance-submission, sociability, and confidence, for which norms have been established for high-school, college, and adult ages. The Minnesota scale is intended for use with students from grade 11 through college and measures five aspects of personality: morale, social adjustment, family relations, emotionality, and economic conservatism.

Some adjustment inventories that are designed for use with students take the form of check lists of problems or attitudes. Examples of this type are the Mooney Problem Check Lists (Psychological Corporation) and the SRA Youth Inventory (Science Research Associates). The general areas covered by these instruments are mainly descriptive, and the analysis of the answers is largely dependent on the skill of the user. As in the case of other self-report techniques, their validity depends on the insight and frankness of the student; and, like adjustment inventories in general, these instruments are mainly useful for screening the problem cases. They also have some value for revealing the changes needed in school practices; for the students' responses may indicate the school procedures, as well as the school students, that should be singled out for special study. Probably the principal advantage gained from the use of such check lists is to be found in the extent to which they help to increase teachers' understanding of the problems dealt with by students.

The most elaborate and best-accepted personality inventory is probably the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Psychological Corporation). The test is a refinement of the inventory technique and is commonly considered an improvement over other tests of this type. It was developed for use in clinics rather than in schools and yields scores for ten personality traits or patterns: hypochondriasis, depression, hysteria, psychopathic deviate, masculinity-femininity, paranoia, psychasthenia, schizophrenia, social introversion, and hypomania. It has two forms, one for individual administration and one for group administration. Neither form is very difficult to administer.

This test early attracted considerable attention; and, probably because administration is not very difficult, it was soon adopted by some workers who had little understanding of the test or its use. In their naïve use of the test scores some users have become real mental-health hazards to students to whom they administer the test. They seriously disturb some

students with their pseudoscientific talk of schizophrenia, paranoia, phobias, obsessions, and the like. They are also seriously disturbing some psychologists who see the damage being done and who at times are called upon to do what they can to repair it. Some loud protests are now being raised against the use of the Multiphasic test by untrained or poorly trained workers. Some protestors are also concerned because "gross misuse" is not only detrimental to students but also tends "to weaken clinical psychology in the eyes of critical psychiatrists and internists" and is making "a 'psychodiagnostician' of anyone who can score the test."[21]

For identifying students in need of special study or counseling some authorities recommend use of a personality inventory that is shorter and more quickly and easily administered than the Multiphasic. To use as detailed an instrument as the Multiphasic for screening purposes is, in the opinion of some, to send a man to do a boy's work. They consider the test most helpful as a diagnostic device to be used after screening has been done with some other less elaborate inventory or after referral of the case by someone who considers special study of the case desirable.

Some 500 personality tests of the inventory type have been published. Most are exceedingly inferior instruments. All are of limited value, and some are of no real value for individual diagnosis. And new ones continue to appear. In spite of the great claims made for some of them, the tests continue, on the whole, to be characterized by low validity. They are being received with increasing skepticism and disfavor by clinical workers and authorities in the fields of psychological testing and personality study, as well as by disappointed student-personnel workers.

The several editions of the *Mental Measurements Yearbook*, edited by Buros, are very useful aids in the selection of tests. Because of the conflicting views expressed by various critics of the same test or same type of test, at times a reader finds use of the *Yearbook* confusing. However, in checking the reviews of personality inventories, the reader notes considerable agreement among the critics. Many criticisms, for example, offered in *The Third Mental Measurements Yearbook* range from mild protests to scathing denunciations, as is shown by the following excerpts:[22]

[The] . . . inventory, being little better or worse than the average personality questionnaire of its kind, makes up for none of the serious limitations still inherent in these instruments. (Albert Ellis, p. 69.)

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[21] Buros, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–107.

[22] Reprinted from O. K. Buros, editor, *The Third Mental Measurements Yearbook* with the permission of the Rutgers University Press. Copyright, 1949 by The Trustees of Rutgers College in New Jersey.

This reviewer finds few items in the entire series that an average subject at each age level could not "see through." Frankness may also be discouraged by the names of the twelve types of adjustment tested printed on the face of the test where the subject signs his name. (Douglas Spencer, p. 57.)

One can hardly expect an objective answer from "Do you believe that you are selfish?" This inventory may not sin any more than similar inventories in this regard, but it is no better. (Raleigh M. Drake, p. 192.)

[The] . . . is as good as, and perhaps a trifle better than, the general run of pencil-and-paper adjustment inventories. It will select out many individuals who should have clinical attention. But it will just as certainly fail to screen out many others who may have an equal need for mental therapy. (Paul S. Farnsworth, p. 96.)

The . . . appears to be simply another personality test which yields fairly reliable measures of some as yet unidentified variable or variables. Thus it promises to provide uncritical investigators with one more set of relatively meaningless scores. (E. L. Kelly, p. 97.)

On the whole, the faults . . . are those of personality questionnaires in general. Such devices vainly seek the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow: a simple, cheap, foolproof method for studying human personality. (Laurance F. Shaffer, p. 56.)

Unfortunately, some manuals of instructions for personality inventories encourage guidance workers to go beyond the limits of their training by instructing them in the diagnosis and treatment of students shown by the tests to be cases of poorly integrated personality or persons with traits that might make for adjustment difficulties in certain situations. Most of the remedial suggestions offered are oversimplified. Some are of the pat-on-the-back-and-try-to-do-better type whereby the worker can pass the buck to the student by pointing out his flaws and then placing on his shoulders the burden of doing something about this situation. Teachers who follow such suggestions may not do the student any harm, but neither are they likely to do him any good. Some other recommendations offered in the manual-handbooks are inappropriate and may actually be dangerous. Teachers who follow them may do serious harm to some students. The advice given by Shaffer[25] in his review of one manual that offers recommendations for diagnosis and treatment may be good advice for readers of all such manuals to follow: "Those who have real professional training will not need a system. Those who lack psychological knowledge will help pupils more effectively by using simple human warmth and interest than by thumbing a handbook of oversimplified recipes."

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[25] L. F. Shaffer in O. K. Buros, editor, *The Third Mental Measurements Yearbook*, p. 70. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1949.

SOME SOURCES OF AID IN TEST SELECTION

Books are a chief source of help in selecting tests, and the ones listed at the end of this chapter will prove helpful. The most recent edition of the *Mental Measurement Yearbook* should be consulted in particular, for it supplies information on all important tests available at the time of its publication. It is probably the best single source of information on many tests. In addition to information regarding test title, publishers, grades or ages for which the test is suitable, and the like, the volume includes reviews of each test by a number of competent authorities. This practice of having the tests reviewed by several persons helps to ensure a comprehensive appraisal of each test covered. The expression of differing and even conflicting views regarding the same test may at times be confusing, but it may also be valuable for helping readers to keep in mind the limitations of tests in general and for calling attention to the specific strong points and shortcomings of particular tests.

If help must be sought outside the school system, some possible sources of aid are the following: (1) state department of education and, in particular, the state bureau of occupational information and guidance if the state department has such a division; (2) the state university; and (3) some other college or university, preferably one nearby, which offers advanced training in psychological testing. A request for assistance will usually bring an early response.

Some publishers of tests make available the services of consultants who are often persons well qualified to give assistance and to give it in a professional manner. Such services, however, should be used with caution; for the fact should not be overlooked that, however competent the consultants may be, to increase the sale of tests is at times a principal reason for provision of the service. Furthermore, some test salesmen, with or without the knowledge of their superior officers, take on the *functions* of consultants even though they are not qualified to provide such service.

The American Psychological Association Committee on Ethical Standards has been *very critical* of the *methods* used by some representatives of test publishers in selling tests to schools. Some salesmen with little or no training in testing have taken on the role of test specialists in advising school people who are also untrained in testing and, hence, are unable to evaluate the advice received. In one report of the APA Committee on Ethical Standards[20] the following illustration of such objectionable practices is given: A school superintendent who admitted that

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[20] APA Committee on Ethical Standards for Psychology, "Ethical Standards for the Distribution of Psychological Tests and Diagnostic Aids," *The American Psychologist*, 5:620–626, November, 1950.

he knew little about testing and guidance asked a test salesman to help him plan a guidance program for his school. Thereupon the salesman (also little informed about guidance) drew up "a complete program" for the school by checking certain items in the catalogue of the company that he represented. To help correct such situations, the committee has prepared a set of standards which contains, among others, the following principles:

Tests and diagnostic aids should be released only to persons who can demonstrate that they have the knowledge and skill necessary for their effective use and interpretation. . . .

Persons purchasing tests, assuming responsibility for testing programs, or distributing tests, should be governed by recognition of the fact that being qualified in one specialty does not necessarily result in being qualified in another specialty. . . . Being a psychiatrist, social worker, teacher, or school administrator, does not ipso facto make one a qualified user of projective techniques, intelligence tests, standardized achievement tests or other tests or aids often used by members of these professions. . . .

The applicability of a test should be clearly defined in the manual in terms of the population on which it has been standardized. Limitations in its use should be clearly stated. Manuals should be considered factual expositions of what is known about a test and of its appropriate use, rather than as selling devices. Test names should reflect the professional nature of the test rather than popular appeal. . . .

Psychological tests should be ordered for use or advertised on the basis of facts concerning the test's standardization and validation, as presented in the test manuals and in the professional literature, rather than on the basis of the test's title, author, publisher, or other evidences of authority. . . .

Representatives and publishers of psychological tests who are not themselves highly trained in psychological or educational measurement should serve only as distributors of materials and takers of orders, not as consultants on testing problems. . . .

Highly qualified psychologists may properly accept employment with test distributors to assist either publishers or clients with testing problems and programs. These consultants should by training, inclination, and contact, work as measurement specialists. Their affiliation and sales function should be kept perfectly clear, and they should recognize and respond to the needs of their clients.

Professionally minded school people will assume responsibility for helping to gain acceptance and enforcement of such standards by taking care to observe these standards in their own practices.

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Tests: Recording and
Reporting Test Results

After tests have been selected, purchased, administered, and scored, the worker may feel that the testing job is about done. Actually the most difficult part is still ahead. The results must be recorded, interpreted, integrated with information from other sources, and put to use in some way helpful to the individuals tested.

NORMS

The score that is obtained after the test has been marked, according to instructions, is called the "raw score." By itself it has very little meaning, for it is merely a numerical description of the student's performance on the test. It usually indicates the number of items answered correctly. The same raw score obtained on two different tests by the same student or on the same test by two different students can have very different meanings. John's score of 50 on his English test may be a good score, whereas his score of 50 on an algebra test may be a poor one. The score of 50 on a certain test may be a very good one for a ninth-grade boy but not a good one for a college freshman.

Before a student's raw score can have meaning, it must be compared with the scores made by other comparable persons in a similar test situation in order to learn how the student's performance deviates from the average or typical performance of a group with the members of which he may properly be compared. In short, to become meaningful, the raw score must be converted into another type of score (called a "derived score") through referral to a table of norms. Norms are tables of figures that show the distribution of scores of a group. They are obtained by giving the test to a large representative sampling of individuals in a group comparable in age, experience, training, educational level, or the like to members of groups with which the test is intended for use. Hence, the norms show how a student compares with other appropriate individuals. If a student,

for example, attains on an intelligence test the average intelligence score for twelve-year-olds, this fact will be shown when his raw score is referred to the table of norms.

It is important that norm groups be described in test manuals and important that guidance workers, in selecting tests, take care to secure sufficient information about the size of the norm group; extent to which it was representative of the total population of which a part; the age, sex, and educational or occupational status of the group; and the uniformity of conditions under which the test was administered. For, if the norms are to be applicable in a particular school situation, the group used in standardizing the test must be representative of the one to be tested. A test *standardized, for example,* on students in a few large-city schools and in only one section of the nation may be inappropriate for use in a small rural school in a different section of the country, at least until other types of norms are provided for the test. Similarly, norms for a scholastic aptitude test established on freshmen in various types of colleges throughout the nation are of limited value in a highly selected college, such as Smith or Harvard. Norms are needed from a population with which the students to be tested may be properly compared.

The table of norms shows the range of scores made by members of a group and the way in which the scores are distributed. The derived score shows the individual's position in a group. It is important to note on the table not only the average score for a group but also the distribution of scores around the average. A student may make a score below the average but within the limits typical of his age or grade group. Furthermore, since the norms are typical scores, they should not be mistaken for the standard. They show where the students are, not where they should be. A student of high potentiality, for example, who has had better than average opportunities to learn may attain a test score that is up to the average for his group but no better. His test performance cannot be described as up to standard, for he shows only average accomplishment, whereas he is expected to show better than average performance.

The *kinds of norms* most frequently used are letter grades, age scores, grade scores, percentile scores or ranks, and standard scores.

Letter Grades. For some standardized tests, such as the Strong Vocational Interest Blanks and the Army Alpha Test, the norms are often expressed in letter grades. A definite proportion of the group is assigned to each letter grade; but the proportion assigned to each letter is not, however, the same for all tests. In the case of the Strong scales, for example, the grade of A is assigned to a score when it is within the upper 75 per cent of the scores of an occupational group, whereas in the Army Alpha the grade of A is assigned to a score when it comes within the top 4 per cent of the scores made by the examinees.

MA'S and IQ's. The norms for many intelligence tests are expressed in terms of mental age (MA). The mental age alone, however, does not show the relative brightness or dullness of a student. The measure of relative brightness is the intelligence quotient, which is obtained by dividing the mental age, expressed in months, by the chronological age (CA), also expressed in months, and multiplying by 100. The use of mental age norms is helpful in the elementary school, for it permits easy comparison with achievement test scores that may also be expressed in age units, but their use beyond the elementary grades is not generally held desirable.

MA's and IQ's, like other types of derived scores, have their limitations. The IQ's, for example, obtained for different age levels from the same intelligence test are not strictly comparable. Also, the IQ's obtained from one test are not fully comparable to those obtained from another. Because they are calculated by different methods, the IQ's from the Otis tests, for example, are not the same as those obtained from the Binet test. Even IQ's obtained from Binet-type tests are not always closely related to those from the Binet test. Traxler,[1] in one of his studies, did not find a very high relationship between the IQ's obtained for the same students from the Binet and the Kuhlman-Anderson tests. The correlations were found to be from about .60 to .65. While these correlations are substantial, they are, as Traxler states, "not very high for two tests designed to measure the same thing—general intelligence."

Further objections to the use of MA's and IQ's at the high-school and college levels are caused by the fact that the standard definition of mental age does not hold true for chronological age beyond age thirteen or fourteen. At the higher age levels IQ's are artificial or hypothetical. They are not true ratios of MA to CA. Thurstone[2] maintains that IQ's do not apply to tests "in the range of college students," explaining as follows:

The intelligence quotient is, by definition, the ratio of the mental age to the chronological age. The mental age of a test performance is the chronological age for which the test performance is the average. It follows from this definition that mental ages and intelligence quotients are indeterminate for the upper half of the adult population. If a person scores above the average for adults in a psychological examination, then there exists no age for which his score is the average. College students can be assumed to score above the average for the adult population of the country and, consequently, they cannot be assigned any mental ages or intelligence quotients. This is not a debatable question. It is a question of very simple and straightforward logic.

[1] A. E. Traxler, *Comparison between IQ's on the New Edition of the Kuhlman-Anderson Intelligence Tests and the Binet IQ's*, Educational Records Bureau Bulletin 24, pp. 30–31. New York: Educational Records Bureau, 1941.
[2] L. L. Thurstone and T. G. Thurstone, *American Council on Education Psychological Examination for College Freshmen: Norms Bulletin*, 1946, p. 102. Reproduced by permission of Cooperative Test Division, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J., and Los Angeles, Calif.

Similarly other authorities protest the use of intelligence quotients and agree with Crawford[1] who states that *at least for high school and college the IQ and the MA "are dangerously susceptible to misinterpretation and could well be now retired emeriti from academic circles."*

Age and Grade Scores. Norms in the form of age and grade equivalents are used for many achievement tests, especially at the elementary-school level. The age equivalent is the age for which the score is the average. If the test is a measure of achievement in several subjects or a measure of general achievement, the derived score is called the "educational age" (EA). If the test measures achievement in only one subject, the derived score is called the "subject age," such as the arithmetic age or the reading age. For a while it was common practice to compute the educational quotient (EQ) by dividing the educational age by the chronological age and multiplying by 100 and to compute the accomplishment quotient (AQ) by dividing the educational age by the mental age and multiplying by 100. The AQ's and the EQ's soon went out of use because, according to Greene[2] and Flanagan,[3] of differences in the methods used for standardizing educational and mental ages, lack of faith in the IQ as a good indicator of mental ability, and rejection by some authorities of the concept of the unitary nature of intelligence.

Grade norms are similar to age norms. The grade equivalent is the grade for which the test performance is the average. If, for example, a student makes a score that is the median for the fifth month of the eighth grade, he is said to have a grade equivalent of 8.5. Grade norms, like age norms, are not very satisfactory for use beyond the seventh or eighth grade; but they are useful below that level for rendering comparable the scores from a number of tests. They also help teachers to see the extremely wide range of individual differences among students in a particular class. Some teachers, however, misinterpret grade scores at times because of the overlapping in score distributions for students in consecutive grades. As Flanagan points out,[4] a fourth-grade student's score of 5.6 should not be interpreted as meaning that he has already mastered the contents of the fourth grade and of the first half of the fifth grade. It more likely means that he learned unusually well the materials covered in the first three grades.

Both age and grade norms aid analysis of the progress of individual students by revealing differences in the abilities of the individual as well

[1] A. B. Crawford and P. S. Burnham, *Forecasting College Achievement*, p. 83. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946.

[2] Edward B. Greene, *Measurements of Human Behavior*, rev. ed., p. 214. New York: The Odyssey Press, Inc., 1952.

[3] John C. Flanagan, "Units, Scores and Norms," in E. F. Lindquist, editor, *Educational Measurements*, pp. 695–763. Washington: American Council on Education, 1951.

[4] *Ibid.*

as differences among individuals. Diagrams and profile charts, such as those presented in Figures 2 and 7, help to give a clear picture of the strong and weak points of an individual or of a group. In Figure 2 grade norms are used to show that Virgil, a seventh-grade student, apparently is not achieving to expectancy because of a serious reading deficiency. And in Figure 7 the relative standing of 40 eighth-grade students with respect to chronological age, mental age, and reading achievement is shown in terms of grade placement.
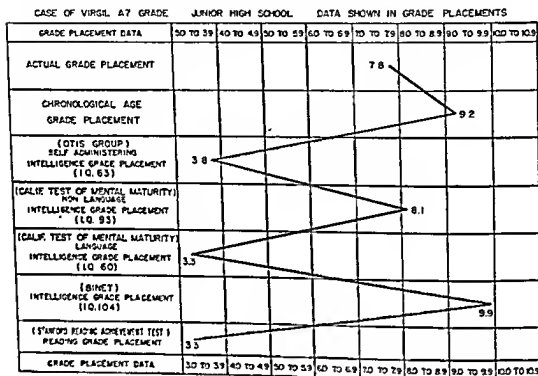
CASE OF VIRGIL A7 GRADE	JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL				DATA SHOWN IN GRADE PLACEMENTS			
GRADE PLACEMENT DATA	30 TO 39	40 TO 49	50 TO 59	60 TO 69	70 TO 79	80 TO 89	90 TO 99	100 TO 109
ACTUAL GRADE PLACEMENT					7 8			
CHRONOLOGICAL AGE GRADE PLACEMENT							9 2	
(OTIS GROUP) SELF ADMINISTERING INTELLIGENCE GRADE PLACEMENT (I.Q. 63)			3 8					
(CALIF TEST OF MENTAL MATURITY) NON LANGUAGE INTELLIGENCE GRADE PLACEMENT (I.Q. 93)						8.1		
(CALIF. TEST OF MENTAL MATURITY) LANGUAGE INTELLIGENCE GRADE PLACEMENT (I.Q. 60)	3 5							
(BINET) INTELLIGENCE GRADE PLACEMENT (I.Q. 104)							9.9	
(STANFORD ELECTIC ACHIEVEMENT TEST) READING GRADE PLACEMENT	3 5							
GRADE PLACEMENT DATA	30 TO 39	40 TO 49	50 TO 59	60 TO 69	70 TO 79	80 TO 89	90 TO 99	100 TO 109

FIG. 2. Needing remedial program. (*From a research report by Dr. Esther Grace Nolan. Reproduced by permission of the author and the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools.*)

The use of age and grade norms is probably one of the best methods for making comparable the scores from one test to another. However, this method has, as Flanagan[*] points out, certain limitations: (1) Grade equivalents do not provide for growth during the summer vacation months, and age equivalents are based on the assumption that growth during the summer months is at approximately the same rate as during the school months. Both assumptions—no growth or same rate of growth—are extreme. The truth probably lies somewhere between them. (2) It is difficult to secure grade and age equivalents over a sufficiently wide range to cover the extremely high and low test scores. Derived scores to describe the very high and very low performances must be arrived at on the basis

Ibid., p. 709.

of arbitrary designations (perhaps based on observations) rather than through the usual procedures employed in setting up such equivalents. Hence, interpretation of extreme age scores or grade scores is difficult because they represent hypothetical medians, instead of the average scores that would be obtained if the test were administered to students at the corresponding age or grade levels. (3) The derived scores at the upper end of the range are for grades and ages at which the school subjects covered by the test are not usually taught, and so they are without meaning, as indicated above. (4) Grade and age equivalents rest on the assumption that from grade to grade instructional emphasis is continuous and constant in the various subject fields, which is rarely the case. Some subjects, such as social studies, science, and literature, are taught formally in some grades but not in others.

Percentile Scores. The norms employed most frequently for tests at the high-school and college levels are percentile ranks and standard scores. Because standard scores are not so easy to understand as percentile ranks and are more difficult to interpret to persons unsophisticated with regard to statistics, standard scores are used less frequently than percentile ranks even though they have many theoretical advantages.

Percentile ranks are useful indicators of the individual's position in the group because they are probably the most easily understood method of showing relative standing with respect to all types of groups. The percentile ranks show relative standing through a scale of 100 intervals by indicating the per cent of cases which lie at and below the successive points on the scale. The 50th percentile is the point below and above which exactly half the cases are found. In brief, percentile ranks describe a student's position in his group in terms of the per cent of students who fall below the score he made. The student, for example, who has a percentile rank of 60 on a reading test performed as well as or better than 60 out of 100 students in the group on which the test norms were established.

Percentile norms have one serious defect: the percentile differences are not the same throughout the scale. They are smallest at the middle, tend to cluster about the midpoint, spread out toward the ends, and are largest at the extremes. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, this inequality of differences is due to the fact that differences between individuals are more frequently narrow than wide and that with regard to almost any measurable trait or ability most individuals differ very little from the average of the general population. Consequently, a difference of only 5 points in the raw scores of two students may place one at the 45th percentile and the other at the 53d, whereas a difference as great as 10 points may place two other individuals only 3 percentiles apart because

both differ considerably from the average. The score for one may give him a percentile rank of 95, and the score for the other may give him a percentile rank of 98.

Because of the inequality of percentile differences it is incorrect to add or to average percentile ranks. This fact may cause some persons to question the percentile ranks for gross scores of tests that yield several scores. The percentile rank of the gross score often is not the same as the average of the percentile ranks for the part scores. Since the percentile ranks cannot properly be averaged, a table of norms is provided for the gross scores along with the tables of norms for the part scores.

Standard Scores. Standard scores can be added and averaged; for, unlike percentile scores, they do not have the disadvantage of distorted values or inequality of interval differences. They are based on distances from the mean and are directly comparable throughout the scale. In addition, they have the advantage of permitting comparison among different kinds of measurements, such as school marks, grades on teacher-made examinations, rank in class, and the like. All such measures can be uniformly expressed in terms of standard deviations from the mean.

Not all standard scores are expressed by the same method, but logically they are the same. A standard score usually indicates the individual's position in the group by fixing the mean at 50 and allowing 10 points for each standard deviation. Other variations of the technique use mean values of 100 or 500 with standard deviations of 20 and 100 points respectively. Figure 3, from Crawford, makes possible easy comparison of the scale values of percentile and standard scores. Here the mean is set at 500 with 100 points for each standard deviation. In this figure the standard deviation is represented by the small sigma (σ). It may also be represented by the initials SD.

Test makers experience considerable difficulty in securing satisfactory groups to use in standardizing their tests. In general, the reliability of test norms has been judged largely on the basis of the number of individuals in the group on which they are established. An increase in the number of cases, however, does not necessarily increase the value of the norms. Selecting samples carefully to make them "either for one purpose homogeneous or for others more widely representative" is, Crawford[3] states, more likely to increase the significance of the scores than merely increasing the size of the sampling.

At present norms that are described as "national" are national in a geographical sense only, being representative of different parts of the country but not of different educational levels in all parts of the nation. Because the population upon which the norms are established may not be representative of the range and level of the ability of the group with

[3] Crawford and Burnham, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

which a test is used, it is often desirable to develop local norms. In some of the references listed for this chapter the procedures used in computing local norms are explained. The explanations offered by Traxler[9] and by Froehlich and Benson[10] are recommended in particular.

In interpreting the test score of an individual student, it is often desirable to refer the score to norms available for groups other than the ones representative of the age or school grade to which he belongs. It may be desirable to compare his score not only with those made by others in his class but also with scores made by applicants for admission to a certain type of college or by members of a particular occupation. A student's
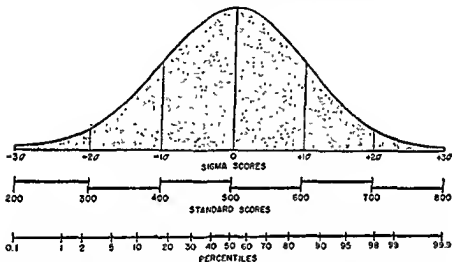

Fig. 3. Scale values in a normal distribution. (*A. B. Crawford and P. S. Burnham, Forecasting College Achievement*, p. 34. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946. Reproduced by permission of the publishers.)

percentile rank on a scholastic aptitude test, for instance, may show that he is in the second from the top quartile according to the norms for the general population but is in the bottom quartile according to the norms for college freshmen in premedical training. A student may stand well in one group, but he may be outside the preferred range or critical section in another.

No attempt is made here to provide statistical explanation for the various types of derived scores, some of which, such as standard scores, involve complex calculations. Undoubtedly, better use of tests comes with increased understanding of the statistics involved. Many authorities

[9] A. E. Traxler, *Techniques of Guidance*, pp. 183–184. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.
[10] C. P. Froehlich and A. L. Benson, *Guidance Testing*, pp. 97–99. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1948.

agree with Darley,[11] who firmly believes that "a knowledge of statistics is essential if the high-school counselor and guidance worker is to interpret test results correctly." Included, therefore, among the references for this chapter are several that provide instruction in the basic statistical procedures needed for understanding tests. Special attention is called to Darley's books, which give clear and easily understood presentations.

RECORDING TEST DATA

Some records of test data are made primarily for instructional and administration purposes. While guidance workers are concerned with such records, they are most concerned with certain records of special importance in guidance—the official records of individual students, maintained in some central office but available to all staff members; the records sent to the staff members (teacher-counselors, advisers, homeroom teachers, or the like) responsible for the counseling of specific students; and the records prepared especially for aiding diagnosis of the needs and study of the progress of particular students and groups of students.

On the official personnel records of the students and on the records sent to their counselors certain items of test information should always be given: (1) date test was given, (2) title and form of test, (3) raw scores, (4) derived scores, and (5) norms used. If the test has part scores and the part scores are of practical importance and reliability for individual guidance, raw scores and derived scores should be given for the subtests also.

While counselors should always find the official records readily available to them, most counselors wish to maintain files on their counselees. Therefore, they should receive test data as soon as possible after any tests have been administered to their counselees. The record sheets that the publishers ordinarily supply in packages of tests are useful for reporting test results to both the counselors and the class teachers concerned. If these record sheets do not provide for inclusion of all items of information needed, mimeographed forms can be developed that do. Some writers recommend listing the students in alphabetical order; others recommend listing them in rank order on the basis of the total scores. If the list is to be used as a record and for study of group or individual performances, the arrangement of names in rank order is generally preferred. If, however, the items are to be transferred to some other record form, the alphabetical arrangement is preferred.

Various methods are used for entering test data on the permanent cumulative records kept for all students. If the form is a cumulative

[11] John G. Darley, *Testing and Counseling in the High-School Guidance Program,* p. 45. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1943.

record card or sheet, space is almost always provided for a tabulation of test data. Sometimes a profile or graphic analysis chart is also provided. A profile that can be read easily and quickly helps to show the quality, amount, and consistency of a student's progress. When, however, the profile is crowded into too small a space, the user does not find it easy to decipher the explanatory phrases, which are necessarily written in very small letters, or to extricate quickly from the *network of lines* the information that he is seeking. The cumulative record card developed by the Educatiooal Records Bureau is a good example of the type that provides for both the profile and numerical entries. The test record section of the card is reproduced in Figure 4.

The authors of some cumulative record forms facilitate maintenance of the graphic record by not crowding the test profile into too small a section of the card. On the California Personnel Record Folder (Form C, 1947 Revision), for example, almost all the space of the back cover is given to the test record section, which includes a graphic analysis chart. Some California schools that have not adopted the California folder have adopted the test record section in card form, using the reverse side of the card for recording other items. Figure 5 reproduces the card adaptation for the schools in the El Monte Union High School District.

When blank cumulative folders are used, instead of cards or printed folders, the test record should be kept on a separate form that is filed in the folder. Desirably the form should provide for both profile and tabulated entries. Even though the same information is given on the profile, the tabulated entries should be used for the sake of accuracy. To reduce clerical work, the titles of tests used regularly with all or most students should be *printed* or *mimeographed* on the form. The tests should be grouped according to type (scholastic aptitude, achievement, etc.); and sufficient space should be provided for adding data on other tests administered to some students only. If the *form is to cover a three- or four-year period* during which many tests are to be used, one side of the form may be used for reporting scholastic aptitude and achievement test data and the reverse side for *reporting results from interest inventories* and other types of tests. The use of both sides of one sheet or card will probably prove more convenient than the use of two sheets or cards. Figure 6 illustrates the general form for this type of test record.

Diagrams are often more effective than lists or profiles for showing the range and distribution of test scores, grade-point averages, or the like for a particular group. Figure 7, for example, shows how 40 eighth-grade students differ with regard to chronological age, mental age, and reading achievement. In each of the three sections of the diagram the 40 students are presented by numbers in circles. Lines connect *the circles that* represent certain students to call attention to the differences in their
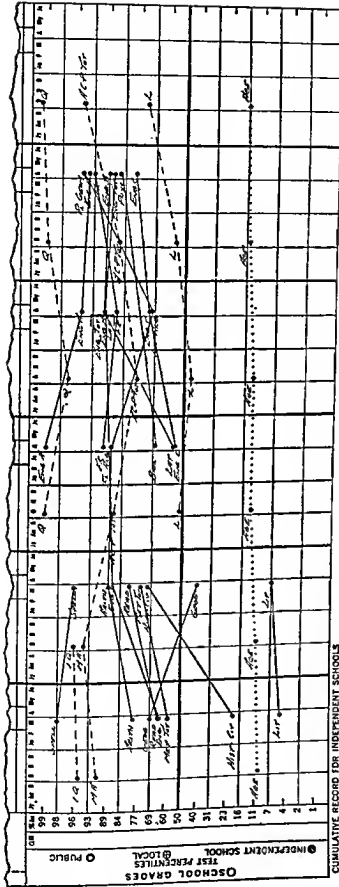
CUMULATIVE RECORD FOR INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

FIG. 4. Filled-in portion of the ERB Cumulative Record Card. (Arthur E. Traxler et al., *Introduction to Testing and the Use of Test Results in Public Schools*, p. 82. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1953. Reproduced by permission of the publishers.)

three positions. Student number 10, for example, is in the first semester of the seventh grade on the basis of chronological age, in the second semester of the tenth grade on the basis of mental age, and in the first semester of the tenth grade on the basis of reading achievement. As is often the case, the youngest student (number 1) has a high grade placement for mental age and reading achievement, whereas the oldest student (number 40) has a low grade placement for mental age and reading achievement.
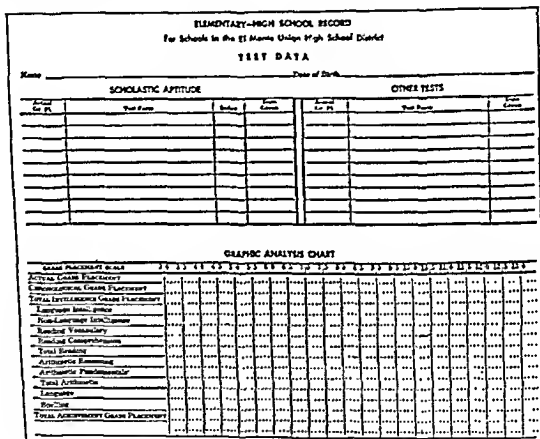
Fig. 5.

Figure 8 is the type of analysis chart that is commonly called a "scattergram" or a "scatter-diagram." Like Figure 7, it shows individual differences in ability and achievement among members of a group and the relationship between ability and achievement for individuals. The circled numbers represent 38 students. The vertical scale shows percentile ranks on a scholastic aptitude test, and the horizontal scale shows grade-point averages. The grade of A is given a value of 4.00, B a value of 3.00, C a value of 2.00, and D a value of 1.00. This scattergram shows, for example, that student number 24 has a percentile rank of 55 on the scholastic aptitude test and a grade point average of 1.75 for the semester.

The students in the upper right-hand quadrant are above average in both ability and achievement. Not all these students, however, are achieving to expectancy. Student number 10, for example, ranks higher in ability than in achievement. Nevertheless, we cannot conclude on the basis of the scattergram evidence alone that the students who are not achieving to expectancy should be urged to do better than they are now

TEST RECORD
(Name of School)

Student _____ Date of birth _____

Date	Test name and form	Norm	Score	%ile	Percentile rank scale										
					0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

Fig. 6.

doing. The discrepancy between ability and achievement may not be due to lack of interest and effort. Moreover, some students who are doing very well should probably be encouraged not to do so well. Likewise, some who can do better should not be encouraged to do so. Student number 10, for example, may have to work after school and on week ends in order to help meet family expenses. To do better in school, he may have to devote to study some of the time now being given to sleep or to recreation.

Student number 27 is doing all right in school although he can ap-

parently do much better. Some of his teachers may feel that he should be urged to seek grades of A. Others, better informed about this student's out-of-school life, may know that he has a number of out-of-school interests of special value in terms of self-education and enrichment of personality. To make grades of A, he will have to give up certain hobbies and special activities. Some of his teachers may not believe A grades sufficiently important to warrant the sacrifice. Student number 25 is doing better in his school work than student number 27. This may be good or
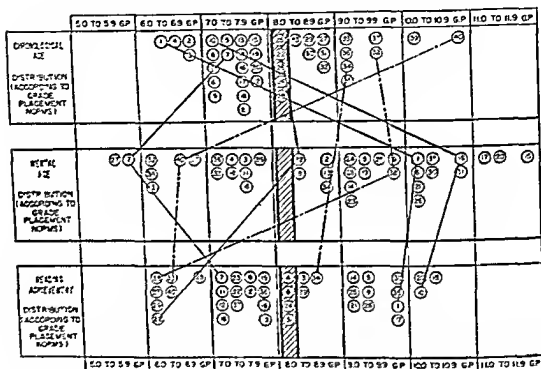

Fic. 7. Forty pupils, eighth grade (8.1). (*From a research report by Dr. Esther Grace Nolan. Reproduced by permission of the author and the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools.*)

not good. Numbers 25 and 35 may be giving too much time to school work and too little time to socializing, to participating in home and community activities, and to meeting such health needs as rest, sleep, and exercise.

The students in the upper left-hand quadrant are apparently not working to capacity, for they are not achieving to expectancy. Instead, however, of concluding promptly that these students are lazy and trying to decide the best way to jack them up, their teachers should delay conclusions and decisions until they analyze and diagnose these cases. These students are high in ability. They are definitely worth saving and should not be driven from school by pressure being brought to bear on them at

a time when some may already be too hard pressed. A study of these cases may show lack of interest and of effort to be the reason for low achievement on the part of some. In other cases it may show the reasons to be too heavy a program of study; excessive participation in extracurricular activities with the result of too little time and energy for class work; lack of study time outside of school because of part-time employment, home responsibilities, or the like; poor background in the way of training for
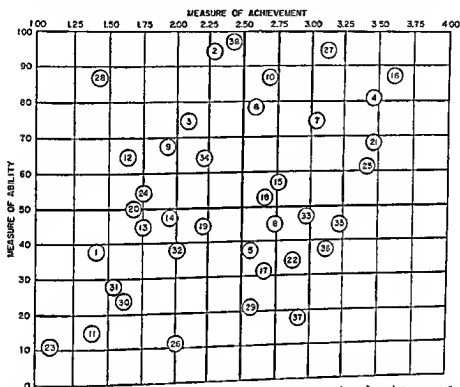

FIG. 8. Scattergram. The measure of achievement is in terms of grade-point averages for the semester. The measure of ability is in terms of percentile ranks on a scholastic aptitude test. The medians are for the total group of which the 38 students are a part.

certain courses; bad health; unhappiness caused by personal or social maladjustment or worry over home problems; restlessness created by too much regimentation or other disliked conditions in the school, by indecision regarding vocational plans, by a future made insecure and uncertain by world conditions; or other causes.

The students in the lower right-hand quadrant, such as numbers 29 and 37, are achieving beyond expectancy. They may really be more able than the test scores indicate. The test results may be incorrect because of errors in scoring or recording or because the students were not in good

"testing condition" the day they took the test. If a retest shows that the results of the first test are apparently correct, these students should also be made the subjects of special study. The study may show that high interest, well-organized efforts, and good study habits are helping to offset limitations in ability. Or it may show that the students are devoting too much time to school work and too little time to recreation and other health needs.

Some students in the lower left-hand quadrant are low in both ability and achievement. The lack of achievement may be due to lack of interest and effort as well as to lack of ability. It may also be due to unhappiness and discouragement produced by inappropriate programs of study and inadequate instruction. Also, of course, it may be due to some of the same reasons considered above as the possible reasons for lack of achievement on the part of others who are more able than are these students.

The test scores and the grade averages may show what students can do and are doing, but they do not show why some students are not doing so well as expected. To get at the real causes and to secure correction of undesirable conditions, the teachers will need to observe the students, to interview them, to hold conferences about them, and, perhaps, to make extensive case studies of them.

REPORTING TEST RESULTS

In general, test results should be reported to students, teachers, and parents. The students are often the last persons informed of the test results, whereas they should be among the first. Early in the development of school testing programs, certain leaders of the movement stressed the importance of sharing test data with students. Thorndike[12] expressed his judgment as follows: "The final justification for every testing regime rests in Mary Jones and John Smith, and it therefore behooves all persons who are making and giving tests to take them into partnership as soon and as completely as is feasible."

In reporting test results to students, care should be taken to give them the information in such a way that they can understand, accept, and use the information. It is not useful or helpful, for example, to tell a student that, according to his intelligence test score, 90 out of every 100 students at his grade level are mentally more able than he is and that the indications are that he will not be able to succeed in any occupation above that of the unskilled laborer. Nor is it helpful to tell another student that he ranks at the 99th percentile on the same test and that he can expect to succeed in any occupation that he may select. To give such informa-

tion to either student is to overlook limitations in the technique of testing, in the particular test used, and in the situation in which used and to overlook certain strengths and limitations in the student.

Some school workers make a practice of informing students of their "exact scores" on intelligence tests. They defend the practice, especially with regard to the low-score students, by saying that such students must face and accept the realities of life. The practice would be defensible, perhaps, if test scores were always among the realities and never among the falsities of life. Such workers are not facing and accepting the realities of life with regard to testing. By not doing so, they are at times doing serious damage to some students, tearing down the self-esteem of some and inordinately inflating the egos of others.

More harm than good is likely to result from informing students and their parents of the MA's, IQ's, or percentile ranks attained by the students on intelligence tests or tests of scholastic aptitude. Information about performances on such tests should be given only in the form of general interpretation and only to the degree that the recipient can understand the information and can accept it emotionally as well as intellectually. Test interpretation should be woven into conversations regarding educational achievement, future plans, and other such matters—conversations that are held with the student over a period of time rather than concentrated into a single somewhat formal report given during one interview arranged specifically for this purpose.

When, for example, a high-school senior asks his counselor, "How did I do on the intelligence test?" and "Did it show me good enough for college?" the counselor does not tell the student that, when compared with other high-school seniors, he has a percentile rank of 93 on the ACE Psychological Examination for High School Students. Instead, he tells the student that he did very well on the test and that the results indicate that he is indeed college caliber. During this conference and later ones he tries to help the student to explore his interests and discover his strengths so that he will make plans that permit satisfaction of his strong interests and development of his talents.

When reporting the results from tests of achievement, interests, reading skills, and special aptitudes, the worker reports the test findings in terms of percentile scores, explains the interpretation of such scores, and lets the student formulate his own evaluation of his performance on the tests. In reporting results for intelligence tests, however, the worker does not use percentiles but general interpretation, instead; and so he does not always avoid the use of evaluative terms. The boy in the example given above, for instance, apparently wants to go to college; but his question shows that he may have some doubt regarding his ability to meet college academic requirements. Since the test results reveal that the boy is su-

perior in scholastic aptitude, he should receive information that is sufficiently definite to enable him to perceive that, with respect to scholastic ability, his plans for attending college are sound.

In reporting the results from any type of test, the worker ordinarily takes care not to indicate his own reaction through any expression of pleasure, disappointment, or the like. He is, however, sensitive to the student's reaction as shown through expressions of satisfaction, dissatisfaction, disappointment, and the like. He tries to reflect the student's feelings through such remarks as "You are disappointed that your test score is not better than the average sophomore's?" or "You are pleased that you did very well on the test?" He encourages the student to express his feelings fully so that the student can gain the emotional release that may he needed before he can examine more or less objectively his aspirations and the reasons for his satisfaction or disappointment with the test findings.

Three more examples: A counselor may tell a sophomore girl who has a percentile score of 76 on the Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability that her test score is well above the average score for high-school sophomores. He then encourages the girl to explore her strength and weaknesses through study of the records of her school marks and her performances on tests of achievement, reading abilities, and the like so that the girl may find out for herself that, if she puts her aptitude to work, she can achieve very satisfactorily in her school work. The counselor may tell another sophomore who has a percentile score of 50 on the same test of intelligence that his test score shows that he has as much scholastic aptitude as the typical high-school sophomore.

Finally, the counselor may tell a sophomore girl whose score on the same test puts her at the 19th percentile that her rank on the test is low or that her score is below that of the average high-school sophomore. He then helps her to explore the situation so that he may help her to work out an appropriate program of studies and to perceive that she will probably have to work harder than the average sophomore in order to succeed in her studies. Should the counselor find it desirable for some particular reason to give this low-ranking sophomore more specific information concerning her test score, it is better for him to tell the girl that she did as well on the test as 19 out of 100 high-school sophomores than to tell her that the test indicates that 80 out of 100 high-school sophomores have more scholastic aptitude than she has.

While the two statements are in the final analysis the same, the second is negative in tone and may be interpreted by the girl as being derogatory or censorious. Consequently, it may have an undesirable effect on her attitude toward the test data and, as a result, make it difficult for the counselor to help the girl use the information constructively. Also, if the girl is not sufficiently aware of her limitations in scholastic aptitude, in-

forming her that her test score is very low may have a seriously disturbing effect.

Bixler and Bixler[13] caution that, in interpreting test data to a student, the counselor must do two things—give the information in such a way that the student understands it and deal with the student in such a way that he helps the student to accept the information and to make good use of it. The student has to weigh the information given him. He may have to express his feelings and ideas on the subject and explore the matter further through conversation with the counselor before he is able to put the information to good use. To do all this requires time, and the time of one interview is not enough for many students.

It is easier to report results from achievement tests than results from intelligence tests. Low performance on an achievement test can be blamed by the student or his parent on the schools. It need not be seen as a reflection upon the student and his family. Hence, there may be less emotional involvement, which may aid intellectual understanding and lead to acceptance in practice. Acceptance in practice may be shown through a modification of plans in keeping with the student's apparent strengths and weaknesses.

In interpreting test results, the counselor should take care, as Bingham[14] cautioned, to compare the student with others of the same age or grade group rather than with members of some higher or lower group. It is more desirable, for example, to tell a freshman girl that she did better on a reading test than about 90 per cent of the freshmen than to tell her that she did as well as the average senior and wiser to tell a senior girl that she did better than about 30 per cent of the seniors than to tell her that her performance was equivalent to the average performance of high-school sophomores. It is better to tell the parent of a fourteen-year-old boy that the boy did as well as 35 per cent of the fourteen-year-olds than it is to tell the father that his fourteen-year-old son has a mental age of thirteen.

In discussing test results with parents and students, workers should avoid using psychological terminology. Furthermore, the discussion should not be focused upon the student's lacks but, instead, upon the significance of the test data and of the student's record of past achievement as it bears on his educational and vocational planning. Moreover, bearing in mind that guidance implies counseling but not compulsion, the worker should take care not to issue prescriptions. He will not, for example, tell a student who scores low in the Differential Aptitude Tests of numerical ability, space relations, and mechanical reasoning that he should consider...

[13] R. H. Bixler and V. H. Bixler, "Test Interpretation in Vocational Counseling," *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* 6:145–156, Spring, 1946.
[14] W. V. Bingham, *Aptitude and Aptitude Testing,* p. 247. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937.

sider sales work because he can never become an engineer. Through discussion of the test results, study of his school record, and consideration of his special likes and dislikes, the student may come to the conclusion that to become an engineer will require more time and effort than he can afford or is willing to give. Seeing the situation more clearly than before, the student may leave the conference room ready to explore other occupations in which he may be able to satisfy his strong interest in mechanics as well as certain other special interests and which will be more in harmony with his pattern of abilities than engineering is.

Instead of telling the student that he cannot succeed in the occupation of his choice, the personnel worker tries to help the student to understand what is involved in attaining his goal, to perceive his pattern of strengths and weaknesses, and to consider the special values and interests that he hopes to achieve and to satisfy through his vocation. Under such conditions students are more likely to consider modifying plans in keeping with their real abilities and interests than they are when told that they should not make certain plans and should consider certain others. In the latter situation some students will persist in inappropriate plans partly because they resent being told what to do and being considered incompetent of attaining their stated goals.

Suppose, some persons may ask, that a student clearly does not have sufficient ability to succeed in even the semiskilled work of the mechanic and yet he persists in planning "to work with machines"? Eventually this student may find it necessary to change his plans from repairing machines to working around machines. There are plenty of unskilled jobs that have to be done which make it possible for him to be around machines. If he is not able even to clean and oil the machines, he can sweep the floor of the machine shop or garage and do other unskilled jobs. Since there are places in the world of work for low-ability people, the low-ability student should leave a guidance conference in an optimistic as well as a thoughtful mood. He should gain hope as well as understanding from the talk with his counselor.

It would be splendid if we could also add that, since there is a place in the high school for low-ability students who are required by law to be there, the student gains from the conference an understanding of the school program he should follow in order to develop his abilities and to make good use of his time in school. Unfortunately, this cannot be added; for it is not always true that low-ability students have a real opportunity to make good use of their time in high school. Too often they merely put in time because the school programs offered them do not give them a fair opportunity to succeed in keeping with their capacity to do so. Such students usually fail and fail and fail until the law and their parents permit them to leave school.

Some students drop out without the consent of their parents; and some parents find it hard to understand why their children do not take advantage of the opportunity to go to high school, an opportunity, perhaps, never had by the parents and one valued highly by them. The children find it hard to make the parents see that they want more than an opportunity to go to school. They want also an opportunity to learn and to make good there. They wish to feel less sure of failing in school than they usually do under present school conditions. Furthermore, if such a student, while in school, is told by some teacher "exactly" how low his mental status is, he is very likely to continue failing after he leaves school. Like his teacher, the student may not fully understand the implications of the test score.

It is possible and often desirable to have students in group guidance classes plot their achievement-test and interest-inventory scores on profile forms. "Self-recording and self-interpreting" profile charts can be purchased for many tests. When such forms cannot be purchased from the test publishers, forms can be developed and mimeographed in the quantity needed. For the sake of accuracy and as an aid to group discussion, general instructions for filling out and interpreting the profiles should be given on the form. Needless to say, the profiles prepared by the students are for their use; they are not the official copies to be filed in their folders.

Group discussions of test results should not be considered adequate substitutes for conferences with students. Many students will wish to have and should have an opportunity to confer with counselors about their test performances. Actually such conferences should be scheduled routinely for all students by the counselors concerned. Also, when special testing is arranged for a student, as far as possible the testing should be made a part of counseling.

When intelligence test scores are written on records kept by the counselor and used during conferences with students, the scores should be recorded in code and in a manner that will not provoke questions from students. Information regarding intelligence test data is usually best given orally and, as stated above, in the form of general interpretation. The profile records of other test scores that are prepared by the students themselves are generally the only written reports on test results that should be given to students. If the school's overemphasis upon testing is not the reason for students' requesting written reports, overemphasis upon the part of students, parents, and teachers will very likely result from the routine issuing of such reports.

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CHAPTER 6

Observation: Anecdotal Records

The techniques most commonly used for appraising personality are tests (usually in the form of inventories) and reports on observations (usually in the form of ratings). Until the early 1930's observation reports in forms other than ratings, such as behavior descriptions and anecdotal records, were used more by research workers than by classroom teachers. Since the 1930's, however, considerable attention has been given to training teachers in observing students and in reporting their observations through behavior description and anecdotal reports.

It is the systematic use of observation rather than the technique itself that is an innovation for most teachers because teachers have always employed the technique of observation. Many elementary-school teachers make it a daily practice to observe all their pupils critically for symptoms of ill health. This practice is not, however, usually followed by teachers at the secondary and college levels. Furthermore, high-school and college teachers probably make less use of observations in general than do elementary-school teachers, perhaps because they receive less supervised preservice training in the use of observation than elementary-school teachers do.

TYPES OF ANECDOTAL RECORDS

The use of the term "anecdotal record" apparently originated in 1931 at the Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute (now the Rochester Institute of Technology) where this form of observation report was adopted as an "administrative substitute for and improvement upon the rating scale." The explanation of the anecdotal record offered several years later by Randall,[1] then president of the Athenaeum, is still generally accepted as the standard definition. According to Randall, the anecdotal report is

[1] John A. Randall, "The Anecdotal Behavior Journal," *Progressive Education*, 13:22, January, 1936.

. . . a record of some significant item of conduct, a record of an episode in the life of a student; a word picture of the student in action; the teacher's best effort at taking a word snapshot at the moment of the incident; any narrative of events in which the student takes such a part as to reveal *something which may be significant about his personality.*

Randall's Classification. Randall described the four types of anecdotal records then used at the Athenaeum: (1) objective description of a specific incident; (2) description of the incident followed by interpretation; (3) description of the incident followed by, first, interpretation and, second, recommendation; and (4) a running account in which description and interpretation are intermixed.

Because too many anecdotal records written by teachers tend to be more reports on the teachers' reactions than reports on their observations, some writers believe that the only acceptable or the most acceptable form is the first type, *i.e.*, that a record should be limited to objective description of the incident observed. Others recognize that certain advantages may be gained from the inclusion of interpretation and recommendation but urge that they be separated from objective description. Preferably interpretative comments and recommendations should be reported on the reverse side of the record sheet; if given on the same side, they should be clearly apart from the anecdote itself.

The fourth type of record—a mixture of observations and comments—is the type that teachers tend to write when free to write as they please. It is the type generally frowned upon by the authorities, but at times it may have special value because of the inclusion of comments, or it may have definite significance in spite of the comments. This type of record is held acceptable by Randall[2] because

. . . in many such cases, the insight disclosed in the record as received is so keen that a guidance officer can use it effectively even though it has not been written down strictly in accordance with a logical form. The risk of spoiling the intangible qualities of the record is too great to warrant asking that it be rewritten in a more objective and analytical manner.

The use of a special form that provides for the reporting of explanations, interpretations, recommendations, and the like but apart from objective description of the incident observed helps teachers to make their reports on the incident proper both objective and specific. The anecdotal record form that was used in the Plainfield experiment is shown in Figure 9. In this experiment inclusion of the teacher's comments was frequently found not only helpful but also necessary at times for an anecdotal record to be really meaningful. Traxler[3] brings out this point in his criticism of

² *Ibid.*
³ Arthur E. Traxler, editor, *Guidance in Public Secondary Schools*, p. 193. New York: Educational Records Bureau, 1939.

PLAINFIELD HIGH SCHOOL

Anecdotal Record

Name of Pupil Observed	Date
Observer	Place

Objective Description:

Anecdotal Record
(Reverse side)

Comment, generalization, diagnosis, remedial measures proposed, action taken, etc.

Fig. 9. Plainfield High School anecdotal record. (*A. E. Traxler, editor, Guidance in Public Secondary Schools, p.* 192. *New York: Educational Records Bureau,* 1939. *Reproduced by permission of the publishers.*)

some of the anecdotes submitted to him by the Plainfield teachers for his evaluation:

For example, in one of Miss A's anecdotes concerning Tom Smith, the objective description states that "Tom informed me before class that he has finished his library book, *The Story of David Livingstone*, which I helped him select last Friday." This incident in itself does not seem very important, but in the light of the comment on the back of the sheet to the effect that Tom has the lowest score of any freshman on the Iowa test and that he usually labors through a book, if he finishes it at all, the reading of a book in one weekend becomes an outstanding achievement for this boy and one that is well worth reporting. The teachers should be encouraged to continue the making of comments where such explanatory material will help one to understand the incident reported.

Some of the anecdotes described as excellent in one report of the ACE division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel[1] are of Randall's fourth type; but the directors of the ACE child-study program did not always find helpful the intermixing of objective description and the teacher's "personal comment on the situation or interpretation of some action, such as 'Olga came in today upset,' or 'Sam showed a decided preference for Dora.'" Whether the addition of such remarks is helpful or not, the staff found, "really depends upon their soundness and validity. If the teachers' diagnoses are correct, then, coming as they do at the beginning of the report, the comments direct the teacher's attention to the significance of what is to follow." It is because diagnosis is seldom as relatively easy as it seems that the staff warns against "cultivating the habit of including too many interpretive statements." In short, the teachers' remarks often suggest important hypotheses; and so inclusion of comments should not be discouraged; but the separation of objective description and comments is strongly urged.

The ACE Classification. The ACE project staff found that teachers who are untrained or unskilled in the writing of anecdotes tend to report how they feel about a student rather than what they observe about him. On the basis of their experience with the teachers cooperating in the child-study program, the directors classified teachers' anecdotal reports into four types, which are not wholly unlike the four types described by Randall. According to the ACE classification, anecdotes of the first type are those that describe a student's behavior as good or bad or as acceptable or unacceptable. Two examples of this type are given below. For both of them the setting happens to be the same—a class in physical education. The records, however, are about different girls and made by teachers in different schools. The behavior reported in the first is obviously judged "bad" by the writer and that of the second "good."

[1] American Council on Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*, pp. 39–40. Washington: The Council, 1945.

Throughout the period Alice would not do the activity of the rest of the class. During roll call she would not stay in line with the others. She went to a bench and read "True Romances" although she previously was requested not to bring the magazine to class. She refused to buy the school paper. The rest of the class wanted a 100 per cent record. She admitted it was not lack of money. The rest of the class gave a penny each and paid for her subscription. The class treasurer gave her her receipt which she tore up.

Joanne was noticeably more cooperative today. She checked out towels for me and went ahead with the records. Her personal appearance was improved. Her hair was neat; her clothes were clean, well pressed and in good taste. Her voice and actions were those becoming a lady today.

Both these records include factual material: Alice read a magazine during roll call, *did not participate in class activity, did not subscribe to the school paper, and tore up the receipt for payment by classmates.* Joanne checked out towels and helped with the records. The factual record, however, is overshadowed by the teachers' evaluation of the girls' behavior as good or bad. That the evaluation would be held correct by others seems assumed. It would probably never occur to the writer of the first anecdote that some others might see Alice's tearing up the receipt more as *evidence of strength than as evidence of weakness.* It is clear that the teacher considers Alice's not subscribing to the paper uncooperative behavior. Were the account of the incident confined to objective description and the girl's words quoted as accurately as possible, others might interpret the incident differently. There is a possibility that Alice is opposed to 100 per cent movements because she has noted the hardships that they impose on others less able financially than she is to support them. If so and *if this is shown in her answer to the request that she pay her subscription,* the report would have a very different meaning than it has in its present form. On the other hand, if the reporter would let Alice tell the story by reporting just what Alice did say, it might appear that Alice did not display a very cooperative attitude. As it is, it is impossible to judge Alice's behavior because the teacher has revealed her own attitudes better than she has Alice's.

The second type of record described in the ACE report accounts for or explains the student's behavior on the basis of a single fact or thesis. This type—the "interpretive record"—is illustrated by the following anecdote:

Bill was back in school today after a two-days illness. He lacks interest in his school work and so becomes lazy. He would like to quit school to take a job, but his father will not let him. I believe that his two days of illness is sort of a flight from conflict.

Before concluding that this student is lazy and finding the explanation in lack of interest and before offering any hypothesis regarding the use

of illness as an escape from conflict, the reporter should present more facts than he gives here. Hypotheses and explanations should not be presented until sufficient facts are marshaled for the observer to figure out the psychological principles suggested by the data.

In the third type of anecdotal record the writer describes the student's behavior in general terms and reports it as occurring frequently or as being characteristic of the student. An example of the generalized descriptive record is given in the following:

> Charles is lively, enthusiastic, and alert. Today he ran into the classroom noisily, greeting the teacher and some other pupils by name. When the bell rang, he continued conversation with others from his seat until asked to stop. Four times he talked out during class when someone else was speaking. He was very much interested in the new work and caught on quickly. He continually volunteered answers whether called on or not. Today as usual he was full of energy.

The fourth type is the desired kind of record—"specific description." It describes an incident specifically and accurately, telling exactly what was said and done by the persons involved. The following report on observation of a sixth-grade boy in a "free play" situation, taken from a report on the California Adolescent Growth Study,[5] illustrates this type:

> John and Allen are working at an easel. John is intent on a picture of an Indian chief. Allen is talking and singing in a high-pitched voice, mixing conversation with snatches of song and dramatic imitations. Allen draws a picture of a boy and girl kissing. . . . "Maybe that will be me some day."
>
> Allen: "Now I'm going to do one of the modest artist"—(draws an artist painting at easel). To John: "Mix your paint up; it will be better!"
>
> John: "I like mine just as it is . . ."
>
> Allen (sings): "Tomatoes are cheaper (etc.): now is the time to fall in love. . . ." Remarks, "They say we're coming up here four times a year . . . what do we do this for?"
>
> John (turning to observer): "So you will be able to tell others how we grow, isn't it—how others grow?"

Each of the four types of anecdotes described by Randall is held acceptable, whereas only one of the four types described in the ACE report is considered generally acceptable—specific, objective description. The directors of the ACE experiment admitted, however, that their examination of the anecdotes written by the cooperating teachers showed certain advantages to be gained through not limiting them entirely to specific description. Some of the generalized descriptions provided good pictures of students in action, and "some of the interpretations made on the spur of the moment captured the moods of interacting children in a

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[5] Harold E. Jones, *Development in Adolescence*, p. 48. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1943. Used by permission of the publishers.

fashion that would have been well-nigh impossible by straightforward description."

The staff of the ACE project found that anecdotes of the not-always-desirable types—evaluative, interpretive, and generalized descriptive statements—showed certain common criteria in the teachers' judgments about students to be (1) the student's success or failure in school work, (2) the student's being a helping or a disturbing element in carrying out school routine, (3) the standing of the student's family in the community and relation to the teacher's social status, and (4) the student's being personally attractive or unattractive in terms of the teacher's experience, personal needs, and values. Each of the following anecdotes* shows one or more of these influences, and all of them indicate that the teachers who wrote them may be in the habit of dealing with students largely on the level of subjective judgment and personal bias.

The algebra period found Ellen completely organized and ready to get to work. She gave excellent attention during the explanation of work to be done. She finished her work in half the required time. The appearance of the paper displeased her. She copied it taking the rest of the period, carefully writing the numbers, spacing the problems, and erasing all smudges. She did not turn around to see the cause of a disturbance at the back of the room. Social studies period found her ready with all needed materials on her desk.

This morning Frank came to class six minutes late. The class was quietly getting ready for the morning exercises (flag salute, etc.). Frank stamped his feet noisily as he walked across the front of the room. The entire class observed him. No one said a word, not even the teacher. Frank sat down but immediately turned to poke the boy sitting behind him.

Richard made no attempt to work or to study today. He disturbed the class by laughing and talking to the boys seated near him. When spoken to by the teacher, he became angry and sullen. He subsided for some minutes but soon began talking again. This happened three times.

This morning Betty brought some little cakes that her mother sent for the class Christmas party. Her mother is very active in civic groups and the PTA. Her father is a professional man and active in church work. He is also a scout director.

Ed was absent from school half the day. Upon entering the room with his excuse, he seemed to deliberately step on the foot of the nearest boy. His clothes were dirty and torn. He looked as though he needed a bath. I soon noticed that he was sitting with his hand in mouth and told him to remember our health habits.

of anecdotes from generalized to specific description and as they become more objective both in observing and in reporting observations, they acquire deeper insights and appreciate more than before the need for verifying information. They tend to write records that are more detailed than their first ones and to give accounts that are more favorable than unfavorable to the students or that are neither wholly favorable or unfavorable. Anecdotal records increase in diagnostic value as they become clear word pictures free of language which suggests that any specific trait or combination of traits is to be associated with the action described.

SOME COMMON QUESTIONS

How Frequently? Ideally teachers should regularly write anecdotal records on all their students, but such a plan is not practical. It was this ideal plan that was first adopted at the Rochester Athenaeum, where it was to be standard practice for each faculty member to turn in each week not less than one anecdotal report for every student in his classes along with additional reports that dealt with out-of-class observations. Soon this standard had to be modified for teachers of large classes. In other schools also, as Jarvie[7] reported, the number of anecdotes reported decreased with increase in class size.

Jones and Galbraith[8] and other directors of experimental projects found that, when contributions of anecdotes were made on a purely voluntary basis, a few teachers turned in many reports; some teachers, none at all; and many, only a few. Some teachers who were at first enthusiastic afterward became bored; and so, as the experiment continued, there was a significant decline in the number of reports and a noticeable decline in the quality of the reports from some teachers. Moreover, failure to require a minimum number of anecdotes resulted in lack of participation by some teachers and in too limited participation by others. Consequently, Jones and Galbraith concluded that, "were it possible to initiate the experiment now," the number of anecdotes would be set "arbitrarily at first, and diminished or increased as practice warranted a more sound judgment as to what was a reasonable minimum number." Yet to require all teachers to turn in a certain number of anecdotal records may create antagonism. Records written reluctantly or unwillingly may have little more value than records not written at all.

Ideally it is good practice for teachers to write anecdotes on all their students each week. Obviously this is much easier for an elementary-school teacher who has only 30 or 40 students each day than for a high-

[7] L. L. Jarvie, "Quantitative Study of Behavior Records," in *Official Report of the American Educational Research Association*, pp. 106–111. Washington: American Educational Research Association, 1939.

[8] Traxler, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201.

school teacher who has 100 or more. The task of writing anecdotal reports often proves more arduous than anticipated. In the ACE project[*] the plan was for the teachers to ask themselves at the end of each school day, "What do I remember about individual students today?" and then write notes on two or more students. It was thought that fifteen to twenty minutes of writing would be sufficient. The expectation was that all children would be mentioned in these reports from time to time in the natural course of events."

The teachers, however, in an effort to include anecdotes on all students reduced considerably the length of their anecdotes. The directors found these short reports not sufficiently descriptive of the situations in which episodes occurred and weak in showing the *interaction* among children. As a result, they gave up the attempt to have anecdotal records kept on all students and, instead, advocated the practice of keeping extensive anecdotal records on one or two students. While anecdotal records in the form of a series of anecdotes were not to be kept on more than one or two students by each teacher, occasional anecdotes were to be written for all students and included in their cumulative record files. The instructions for the occasional anecdotes were as follows:

Only enough anecdotes need be included in a child's record to illustrate his characteristic patterns of behavior, to show his progress toward accomplishing particular developmental tasks, to reveal the adjustment problems that he faces, and to record his reaction to crises and other events of special significance to him. An anecdote or two a month will suffice to document these matters for most children in a class.

In these instructions the directors seem to be trying to approximate the *general* rule offered some ten years earlier by Wood,[10] a rule which most teachers have not found easy to practice. "The general rule . . . is that teachers should record *every* instance of conduct which attracts their attention, favorable or unfavorable, or which seems to them *characteristic of the pupil.*"

When the practice adopted is that of writing many anecdotes about a few students and a few anecdotes about many students, the scarcity of anecdotes written about some students may actually prove helpful by serving to *focus attention* on the apparently little-noticed students. Hamalainen,[11] for instance, found that the summaries of anecdotes reported on some students became general-impression statements because of the scarcity of anecdotes recorded. He reported that these summaries

[*] American Council on Education, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-436.
[10] Ben D. Wood, "The Major Strategy of Guidance," *Educational Record*, 15:428, October, 1934.
[11] A. E. Hamalainen, *An Appraisal of Anecdotal Records*, p. 57. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943.

are likely to be written on the shy, quiet child who often is unnoticed in the classroom and concluded that the mere absence of anecdotes may provide the starting point from which direction can be given to help the child to become a part of the group in a more normal manner.

Which Students? The decision regarding which student to select as the subject for an extensive anecdotal record can be made for different reasons—for reasons such as the following: the student is readily observed; he is typical of his group; the teacher finds him interesting; he is a student about whom very little is known; the student is not achieving in keeping with his ability; the student seems unhappy.

When the writing of a series of anecdotes is undertaken largely for the purpose of gaining skill in collecting and interpreting data on student behavior, it is probably not wise for a teacher to select as his first subject of observation a student who is so maladjusted that the teacher may find it difficult to interpret the data collected. On the other hand, if the record is being made primarily to collect personality data that are not easily obtained from other sources, the anecdotal record kept by a class teacher on a maladjusted student may reveal the type of special assistance needed and may supply important information for the specialist to whom the student may be referred. If the teacher includes statements of his opinion regarding diagnosis and treatment, the specialist is not, of course, bound in any way by the teachers' recommendations. Also, if the teacher's interpretations are not sound and the specialist is interested in helping teachers as well as students, the incorrect diagnosis may show the specialist the type of professional information needed by the teacher for understanding student behavior.

Which Situations? Since as Bieker[12] says, "all behavior is meaningful," any situation will serve as a beginning point for observing behavior. As the record grows, it should show the student in many different situations—in class and out of class, at school, at home, in the neighborhood, at work, at play, alone, and with others. It should *indicate*, whenever possible, what the student thinks about by telling what he talks about, writes about, draws, paints, and constructs. It should show what others think of him by reporting comments made about him by his teachers, family, peers, and others. The record should reveal the student's outstanding interests and his chief personality traits by disclosing his many kinds of behavior.

The report on anecdotes made during one school year on a particular student may run from five or six pages to fifty or sixty. The extensive collection of anecdotes is not supposed to be a case study, but like the case study it may offer a "full view" of the student. While the long record will

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[12] Helen Bieker, "Using Anecdotal Records to Know the Child," in Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*, p. 187. Washington: National Education Association, 1950.

give a more comprehensive picture of the student than the short one, the short record yields significant information and may lead to some important insights regarding the student. Both long and short anecdotal records often prove valuable supplements to other records; for anecdotes present vivid, intimate, concrete material that adds meaning to the usually formal and more general statements supplied by the other records.

THE GOOD ANECDOTAL RECORD

Objectivity is the most important characteristic of the good anecdotal record. The anecdotal record is, as Randall said, a snapshot taken at the moment of the incident and should be objective to a degree approximating that of an X-ray photograph. The teacher should remember that he is the one taking the picture and so is not expected to be in it. He takes care to keep out of it by putting in nothing of his opinions or feelings regarding the incident. He gets into the picture only when he belongs in it as one of the persons involved in the incident. Then he tries to report as objectively on himself as he does on the student—accurately and concisely. He reports what he did and said, not what he remembered later, he should have done or said. He does not strengthen, soften, or modify in any other way his part in the picture. He gives a clear, exact reproduction, not a touched-up picture.

If the record is objective, the teacher's personal likes and dislikes, biases and prejudices do not appear in it. The reader cannot tell whether the reporter approved or disapproved or was indifferent regarding what he observed. The teacher, of course, has an opinion regarding the significance of the incident; and he may show it in his comments, interpretation, diagnosis, recommendations, and the like that he gives on the reverse side of the record sheet or in some other way apart from the anecdote proper.

As stated before, *opinion is most frequently injected into anecdotal reports through the use of generalized description,* as in this illustration:

Charles was moody and said little today. When the teacher inquired about the assigned work, he replied that he was busy and didn't know if he would have time for it or not. He spent most of the period looking out of the window. He did not attempt to talk to anyone in class today. This is unusual.

The information that the boy's behavior is unusual is helpful, but it should be given apart from the report on the episode rather than *made a part* of it. Furthermore, in stating that "Charles was moody," the teacher is giving his opinion. This statement should be omitted or given on the reverse side of the sheet along with other comments. Not enough facts are given in the report to indicate that the description is correct. The follow-

ing report made on Charles by the same teacher at another time is better than the preceding one because it is more objective and is free of generalized description.

Charles was talking to two other students when the teacher entered the room. He left the students and approached the teacher to ask for an appointment to discuss an original project in drama. Several times during the period he brought up the subject of the project even though other matters were under discussion. When asked to delay the questions until later, he sat quietly for about ten minutes. Then he turned and started to talk to his nearest classmate. The conversation continued until the teacher asked that it stop. When Charles left the room, he stopped by the teacher's desk to remind her of his appointment for the next day.

The good anecdotal record includes specific action, direct conversation, and a fairly complete sequence of incidents. The second record on Charles, for example, could be improved by reporting what Charles actually said. Records usually have to be made after the incident at a time when the student is not present. It is not always easy to remember exactly what was said and done. Memory improves, however, with practice; and making a few notes immediately after the incident aids later recall of the principal facts and the sequence of events.

The following report by a father on his seven-year-old son is a good example of the anecdotal report that is free-flowing, gives specific details, and is uninterrupted by subjective terms:

Johnny wheeled his bicycle out of the garage and smiled at me.

"Watch me ride my bike," he said. "I can go all the way to the corner now without falling off."

He was not smiling as he pushed his bicycle out on the sidewalk and mounted it. He gripped the handle bars and balanced himself as he looked down toward the end of the block.

"Well," I said, "what are you waiting for?"

He placed his right foot on the pedal and pushed off with his left foot. The bicycle swerved, grazed the telephone pole near the curbing, and then swung back on the sidewalk as Johnny pumped hard to maintain his balance. The swerves subsided as the bicycle picked up speed, and Johnny held a steady course toward the distant corner. Suddenly he *swerved in order* to avoid a dog that came running out from behind a hedge. His left foot dropped down to the sidewalk *to save him from falling. His face was red* as he looked back at me.

"Keep going," I shouted; *and he shoved off* again. He reached the corner, wheeled around, and started back. He hunched his shoulders over the handle bars and pumped hard on the return trip. He was smiling as he went past me.

"This is easy," he shouted and rode on to the corner.

A record is made dynamic by giving the exact wording and by showing the native quality of an individual's speech. The two following examples

selected from Bicker's[12] presentation show how records are improved by acute listening and careful reporting of conversation:

"We done bought us a better house."

"Yea, it used to be a old store," said Tom.

"Yea, but it sure is a good house. We paid $650 for it."

"Gollee, that old man was high on that ol' place," replied Tom.

"Yea, but it's got four acres around it."

"Who's all them little bitty girls around there?" asked Tom.

"Them's my sisters and they ain't 'all them.' Ain't but three of them. I got one big sister and two little ones and a little brother. . . . If the weather is pretty this weekend we're gonna git our house papered. Our yard is full of old stumps and stuff. I've dug up a whole bunch of them."

"What are you going to do, Jackie, plant grass?" I asked.

"No'm, flowers. Mamma's always got to have lots of flowers."

Jackie said, "One time I'se in swimmin' with George. I played like I'se drownin' an' George he got so skeered he run home 'thout no clothes on. Mamma she come a-runnin' and she was so skeered she got right sick. Papa he whupped up on me plenty."

"Jackie, if you get whipped for swimming, why do you do it?"

"I let my daddy take his fun out in whuppin' and I take mine out in swimmin'."

To be of much value, an anecdotal record must be one of many on the student. Only when a number of anecdotes are given on a student can he be seen as a many-sided person and the place and meaning of one type of behavior in his total behavior pattern be understood. When considered alone, for instance, the second of the two anecdotes given above may lead the reader to conclude that Jackie is indifferent to his father's wishes and commands, that the father treats the boy harshly, and that, on the whole, the father-son relationship is not a very good one. When, however, the anecdote is read with others in the series reported on Jackie, the reader sees that such conclusions are not correct and that in Jackie's home the family relationships are happy ones. The true quality of the family life is partly indicated in the first of the two anecdotes given above. When combined with others, such as the one given below, they show that Jackie does appreciate and respect his father.[14]

We were talking about good manners. Maxine said, "My folks make me say 'Thanks for the biscuits' instead of just, 'I want a biscuit.'"

Jackie said, "My papa said he was going to slap me if I didn't quit reaching across the table. He make me say 'please,' too."

Some of the children are bringing samples of handwriting. Bill commented that he "didn't see no use in writin' good."

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 190–191, 193.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 190.

Jackie said, "My daddy can't read and he can't write nothing but his name, and he can git a job anywhere he wants to."

The value of these anecdotes on Jackie are increased by the teacher's letting the boy tell his story. The same information given through a summary statement would be less significant than when given through direct quotations. Stating, for example, that Jackie spoke freely and directly and in the dialect of his social class would provide a much less clear and less vivid picture of the boy than is given by showing through direct quotation his style of speech, his manner of relating his thoughts, and his freedom and directness of expression. Moreover, the picture of Jackie is less likely to be distorted through direct quotation than through a summary statement. Also, in giving Jackie's actual words, the teacher helps to reveal the boy's values and attitudes. In summarizing Jackie's conversations and presenting them in her own words rather than in Jackie's the teacher would probably show her own values and attitudes and might even reveal hers more clearly than Jackie's. It should be noted also that in these anecdotes on Jackie the talk and actions of other persons involved in the episodes are reported as carefully as are those of Jackie.

Perhaps it should be added that the anecdotal reports on Jackie are not to be considered perfect. At times they may be too general; and, of course, the degree to which they are accurate is not known to us. But they do have many characteristics of good anecdotal records, and they show how one teacher was able to gather through her observations a great deal of meaningful data on one student.

A good anecdotal record gives adequate background information. The situation for each episode is clearly indicated through information regarding time, place, and persons involved. A series of anecdotal records should begin with a statement that tells the student's name, age, and the situation in which he is most frequently observed by the person reporting. Jackie's teacher, for example, opens his record with a statement that Jackie is an eleven-year-old boy in the fifth grade. She dates each item and indicates where the incident occurs—in class, on the playground, on a field trip, at his home, or elsewhere. The opening statement may include also information as to why the student is selected for special study, a generalized description of the student's appearance, and the general impression he makes upon the teacher.

As the teacher adds item after item to the collection, he will come to see the student more clearly and to understand him better than he did when he began the record. When the time comes for him to summarize the anecdotes, the teacher may reject the generalized description that he first gave and offer a new one that is quite different from the first. Based on many observations of the student in many different kinds of situations,

the new generalized description is less general, more specific, and more accurate than the first one. The teacher now sees the boy differently, and so he now offers a different description of him.

A good collection of anecdotes presents many different views of the student. As the record grows, the teacher begins to seek certain kinds of information not considered very important before. He, therefore, seeks opportunities to observe the student in different kinds of situations and to observe other persons, such as the parents, who are close to the student.

Hamalainen[15] indicates in his report that material relating to home background, such as type of home, family conditions, parental relationships, and other significant data in this category "will generally not be included in the anecdotes." Unless, however, special provision has been made for securing this type of information through some other means, data in this category should be included in anecdotes if the anecdotal record is to fulfill well its function of providing supplementary information. Adequate data on home background are generally not found elsewhere—in the cumulative record, interview reports, questionnaires and other self-reports written by the student, and the like.

Collection of this type of information became a major objective in the ACE experiment with anecdotal records. One report[16] states that at the beginning the teachers knew little about the homes of their students. They knew the extent to which parents were cordial to teachers and cooperative, but they knew relatively little about the important interpersonal and cultural factors in the home that were determining the students' development. When the teachers did realize the importance of such factors, they sought information about them. The students' talk about home life was recorded. Parents were encouraged to visit the school; teachers visited the homes; and reports were written about these visits. Clearly not to include in anecdotal records material about the home is to omit some very important aspects of the student's life.

The good anecdotal record is selective. Pertinent incidents are the ones recorded—incidents that are meaningful because relevant to the student's development. Inconsequential details and irrelevant incidents are omitted. It is not surprising that certain studies show that teachers trained in psychology, mental hygiene, and guidance are usually the ones who write the most significant anecdotes. Teachers without such training often record meaningless incidents and give wrong diagnoses mainly because they do not know the types of behavior that are important at the various growth levels.

The following anecdote is one of six made on a fourteen-year-old girl by her ninth-grade teacher. The other five are very similar. Inclusion of

[15] Hamalainen, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[16] American Council on Education, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–66.

many items like this one is not very helpful because the significance of the incident reported is not brought out clearly enough.

When the bell rang for recess, Sarah walked out of the room with three of her best friends. With this group she walked across the playground to sit under one of the trees. The talk of the group was frequently broken by laughter. When the bell rang to end recess, Sarah returned with the group to class.

It is not undesirable to have a number of minor items in the collection of anecdotes on a particular student because together they may lead to some major hypothesis. It is not desirable, however, that all or most items be minor ones. Then, too, in all items, major and minor, irrelevant details should be omitted. In this anecdote about Sarah the information about the bell adds nothing. This report is not insignificant; for it shows that Sarah belongs to a peer group, that she enjoys the security gained from belonging to a group in which she is apparently well accepted (they talk and laugh together). Not enough information is given, however, to show the importance of the incident. The report is not focused sufficiently upon the center of attention—Sarah and her use of recess time. The significance of the report could be increased by indicating whether Sarah's three best friends are boys or girls or boys and girls, by giving the names of the friends (to Sarah's other teachers this information may be important), and by reporting what Sarah and her three friends talked and laughed about during recess.

As the anecdotal record grows, the teacher forms tentative hypotheses regarding the student's trend of development, his special concerns, the reason for some of his behavior, the meaning of certain types of behavior to the student, and his involvement in the life of his school, peer group, and family. To check the correctness of his hypotheses, the teacher seeks more data through more observations and through information gained from others. If the teacher is wholly professional in his work and objective in his observations, he will probably find that some of his hypotheses must be discarded and others modified. If he is not, then his records may show the "I knew it" or "I told you so" attitude which Jarvie[17] reports that he encountered in some teachers—teachers who formed an *a priori* judgment and then collected information to support the judgment. These teachers are undesirably selective, for they tend to select incidents that support their hypotheses rather than incidents relevant to the student's development. Needless to say, their records, although selective, are definitely not good.

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[17] L. L. Jarvie, "Anecdotal Records as a Means of Understanding Students," *Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions, Proceedings,* 12:26, 1940.

ORGANIZING AND INTERPRETING ANECDOTAL DATA

The anecdotes accumulated on a particular student are of limited value until interpreted, and they cannot be interpreted easily or correctly until organized in some way. The facts presented in all the anecdotes must be sifted and arranged so that they may be studied in relation to one another. Contradictions need to be detected and studied to see whether they indicate errors on the part of the reporter or inconsistent and contradictory patterns of behavior on the part of the student. Unique and recurring situations and unusual and repeated behavior patterns need to be noted and studied to see what they indicate regarding the student's principal problems, behavior tendencies, and personality characteristics. After the facts have been searched out and arranged, clues to their meaning are more easily detected than when the anecdotes are read serially. If adequate and accurate observations have been made and the observation material is arranged in some orderly fashion, the interpretations offered by different persons qualified to give interpretations should be substantially in agreement.

When sufficient anecdotal material has been gathered to warrant the making of tentative hypotheses, a summary is prepared that presents the organized material, the hypotheses or interpretations, and the suggestions or recommendations for next steps in the study and guidance of the student concerned. Then more anecdotes may be added to provide the information needed for filling in the gaps revealed by the summary and for testing the tentative hypotheses or interpretations. In due course the material will be summarized again, after which the recording of anecdotes may be resumed once more. The frequency with which summaries are prepared will depend largely upon the amount of material gathered. In all cases the anecdotes should be summarized at least once a year; in many cases they should be summarized once a semester; and in some cases they should be summarized two or three times a semester because of the large number of anecdotes reported and the great amount of information contained in them.

After considerable information has been obtained on a student through an extensive anecdotal record, it is well to discontinue the record and to begin a new record, one on another student. Observation and study of the first student will continue, of course, but more informally and less systematically than before. As the teacher repeats the experience of observing, of reporting, and of formulating, testing, and revising hypotheses, he is very likely to find that he is presenting a better picture of the second student and making more thorough and valid diagnoses than he did with the first student.

A particular outline cannot be provided for arranging anecdotal data because the material found in different anecdotal records varies too much for the data in all to be organized in the same way. Perhaps one of the simplest ways to present the material is to sift the facts and sort them according to the student's assets and liabilities or handicaps. The beginner may find this simple procedure a good one to follow, but eventually he should try to organize the data to show the student's status and progress in certain large aspects of growth, such as physical, social, and emotional. Or he may group the facts to show the information they give about the student's home situation, work behavior, relationships to others (family, teachers, students, peers, and others), outstanding personality traits, problem tendencies, and the like.

Sometimes teachers are instructed to make school objectives the basis for their observations. When this plan is followed, the material may well be organized or summarized according to the objectives. Using, for example, the statement of objectives prepared by the Educational Policies Commission,[18] the material may be organized according to such classifications as (1) self-realization (health, recreation, aesthetic interests, intellectual interests, inquiring mind, etc.); (2) human relationships (friendships, cooperation, courtesy, home relations, etc.); (3) economic efficiency (vocational interests, occupational information, occupational choice, personal economics, etc.); and (4) civic responsibility (social understanding, critical judgment, tolerance, law observance, etc.). There are definite advantages in making and summarizing observations with reference to the school's professed objectives. If some objectives are stressed at the expense of others which are neglected or almost wholly overlooked, no doubt the summary will reveal this unbalanced situation.

As a rule, items should not be transferred to the cumulative record from the anecdotal reports unless they describe behavior that is typical of the student or are significant for showing trends and changes in his behavior patterns. This point raises the question of who receives and summarizes the anecdotal reports. The answer is another one that must be worked out in each school; but, in seeking the answer, the faculty should remember that the summarizing of anecdotal reports by different teachers on the same student is, as Traxler[19] says, more than a clerical task. It is a task that should be done by someone who knows the student and who is qualified to organize and interpret the data contained in the anecdotes. In most cases this person is the student's homeroom teacher, adviser, or counselor. He is the one specifically responsible for the guidance of the student, and so probably should also be the one responsible for assembling and periodically summarizing anecdotal reports on the student

[18] Educational Policies Commission, *The Purpose of Education in American Democracy*. Washington: National Education Association, 1938.
[19] Arthur E. Traxler, *Techniques of Guidance*, p. 140. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.

by different teachers. The teacher who makes an extensive series of reports on a particular student is, however, the one who should summarize these reports.

A copy of the summary report should be included in the central cumulative record folder of the student if such a folder is maintained, and a copy should be sent to the student's counselor if the teacher making the summary is not the counselor concerned. The counselor or teacher may wish to keep the original reports as long as the student is enrolled in the school; but, after the worker files his final summary report on the case, he will, no doubt, wish to destroy the original reports made by him and received from others.

THE GOOD OBSERVER

Good sensory equipment and a high degree of objectivity are two requirements for a good observer. Even more important than these two, however, is a third—professional knowledge. Unless a person has sufficient knowledge of what he observes—person, thing, or process—he may understand little of what he sees. A person, for instance, who understands very little about mechanics and machines may closely observe a mechanic at work for an hour or longer and then report his observations. Because the report reflects the observer's lack of understanding, it is of limited value; and the judgments expressed in it are likely to be wrong because they are based on ignorance rather than upon knowledge. Another example: three men go together to visit a fish batchery. One man is a zoologist who is especially interested in marine life; one is a country dweller whose favorite recreation is fishing; and one is a city dweller who would like to go fishing sometime but so far has not had an opportunity to do so. The three men observe the fish with equal interest, perhaps, but not with equal understanding. If asked to report and explain their observations, the country man would, no doubt, give a better explanation than the city man; and undoubtedly the zoologist would offer the best explanation of the three. Some teachers' observations and explanations are superior to those of many laymen mainly for the same reason that the superior country man's explanations are superior to those of the city man—greater opportunity to observe—whereas they should be superior for the same reason that the zoologist's explanation is superior—professional knowledge as well as extensive experience.

The teachers who participated in the ACE child-study program found that gathering extensive and vital information about students did not "guarantee or even imply sound judgments, objective attitudes, or wise policies in dealing" with students. The report states[20] that there remained

* American Council on Education, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–188.

to be accomplished certain crucial learnings of scientific methodology and the acquiring of some new mental habits and attitudes consistent with that methodology.

USES, ADVANTAGES, AND DISADVANTAGES

Uses. When the writing of anecdotal records is undertaken largely to increase teacher understanding of student behavior, fulfillment of the purpose is aided considerably by the teachers' organizing informal study groups. When teachers meet together to read and discuss their anecdotal reports and summaries, group interest stimulates individual interest. By sharing in the group discussions, individual members learn to apply concepts and principles in the study of specific cases. Further gains in skill and knowledge can be expected when a group expands its program to include professional reading and group discussion of the subjects covered in the reading. Ideally the program should be further expanded to include the services of a consultant who can help the teachers acquire skill in using scientific principles as the bases for their judgments and who can help them avoid the use of such criteria as their own preferences, purposes, and cultural standards.

The purposes for which anecdotal data may be used are the same as for data from other sources—to help the school workers see the student as a many-sided changing individual and to throw light on the various aspects of his growth, to supply information useful in helping the student to understand himself and useful in interpreting the student to his teachers, parents, prospective employers, and others. Many anecdotes are snapshots that show glimpses of growth and indicate what the teachers can do to aid optimal growth. They often show how school life can help counteract unwholesome influences in a student's out-of-school life.

Although the anecdotal method is an important research technique, the use of anecdotes in research is not considered here. While it is seldom practicable for a school faculty or an individual teacher to adopt the detailed observational practices of the research workers, teachers can gain considerable understanding of the importance of certain factors in observation and can learn how to improve their observational methods by reading the reports of Jones,[21] Newcomb,[22] Lippitt and White,[23] and others.

[21] H. E. Jones, *op. cit.*

[22] T. M. Newcomb, *The Consistency of Certain Extrovert-Introvert Behavior Patterns in 51 Problem Boys.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929.

[23] Ronald Lippitt and R. K. White, "The Social Climate of Children's Groups," in R. G. Barker *et al.*, *Child Behavior and Development,* pp. 485–508. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1943.

Advantages. The most important advantage of anecdotal records is, no doubt, this usefulness for helping teachers to gain perspective on students by helping them to deepen their understanding of student behavior, to see a student's behavior in its total context, to acquire skill in identifying causes, and to recognize the importance of the peer culture code and the cultural standards of the student's family in determining the student's at-school behavior.

Anecdotal records are an important source of personality data. In the California Adolescent Growth Study,[24] for example, the principal means employed for gathering information about personality were anecdotes, ratings, and narrative summaries. The Plainfield experiment with anecdotal records was undertaken mainly because the type of information supplied by personality inventories was "acceptable only with reservations." The Plainfield workers found in anecdotal records an important source of personality data for the cumulative records.

Anecdotal records provide valuable supplementary information. This advantage is well illustrated in Hamalainen's study,[15] which shows that the material gathered through an interest inventory and the material gathered through anecdotal records are of a complementary nature. Hamalainen found that many of the students' interests were recorded in both the inventory and the anecdotes, but he also found that many interests were recorded in the anecdotes that were not recorded in the inventory. The anecdotes, moreover, made a unique contribution by showing the gradual growth or disappearance of an interest, a type of information which is not readily secured through use of an interest inventory. The inventory gave only the statement of an interest at a particular time, whereas it was sometimes possible to trace through the anecdotes the trend of certain interests, to note their cessation, or to get a definite conception of a wide variety of interests. Other studies have shown that anecdotes are especially useful also for providing supplementary information about the student as a group member. They show how well he formation about the student as a group member. They show how well he is accepted by others and whom he accepts and rejects. In this way a student's anecdotes often indicate both the quality and the quantity of a student's social relationships.

Disadvantages. The principal disadvantages of anecdotal records have been brought out in the preceding pages, and so only a brief summary has been added here. The main weaknesses in the technique are the following: (1) difficulty in securing objective reports—teachers tend to report their redifficulty in securing objective reports—teachers tend to report their reactions rather than their observations; (2) difficulty in securing reports on actions rather than their observations; (2) difficulty in securing reports on many students—the amount of work involved and the large student load make it difficult for most teachers to write the desired number of anec-

[24] H. E. Jones, *op. cit.*

[15] Hamalainen, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

dotal reports; (3) difficulty in organizing and summarizing in some usable form the information contained in the anecdotal reports; and (4) difficulty in securing anecdotal reports that give a fair sampling of a student's behavior—teachers tend to report unfavorable and not-typical behavior more often than they report favorable and typical behavior.

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Observation: Rating Scales
and Behavior Descriptions

Rating scales are another form of observation reports. In making an anecdotal record, the observer is reporting an incident of observation which reveals some aspect of an individual's behavior that the observer considers significant. In using a rating scale, the worker is reporting his general estimate (supposedly on the basis of observation) of an individual's relative strengths and weaknesses with regard to the attitudes and personality or behavior characteristics named on the scale.

Many kinds of rating scales are described in the literature, and the various descriptions show that the term "rating scale" is defined in many different ways. A few writers use the term very broadly. Millard,[1] for example, classifies as rating scales almost all objective measures of personality and behavior, referring to "aptitude tests, personality measures, and economic-social, environmental-status measures" as "only a few examples." Since, according to the definitions given by Greene[2] and others, a scale is any order by which individuals may be compared and a rating is an estimate of qualities or abilities, Millard[3] is correct in classifying intelligence and achievement tests as rating scales. Most writers, however, use the term more narrowly than Millard does, limiting it to instruments used for securing ratings on an individual by having a rater indicate the individual's position on a scale of already defined steps or classifications.

When a scale is used for securing from an individual some expressions of his attitudes and beliefs, the scale is more frequently called a "test" or an "inventory" than a rating scale. When the instrument is used for obtaining from others an estimate of their impression or judgment of the individual with respect to the characteristics named in the scale, the instrument is usually called a "rating scale." If the instrument is used for

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[1] C. V. Millard, "Basic Growth Concepts and Their Use in a Program of Guidance," in C. E. Erickson, editor, *A Basic Text for Guidance Workers*, pp. 37–40. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947.

[2] Edward B. Greene, *Measurement of Human Behavior*, rev. ed., Chap. 18. New York: The Odyssey Press, Inc., 1952.

[3] Millard, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

securing from an individual statements regarding his own impression of himself or the impression that, he believes, he makes upon others with respect to certain characteristics, the instrument is generally described as a "self-rating scale." Self-ratings are not considered here because they are included in the discussion of self-reports given in Chap. 11. Tests and inventories have been considered in the preceding chapters.

TYPES OF RATING SCALES

The rating scales commonly used in schools and colleges may be roughly classed as scoring methods, ranking methods, graphic scales, and check lists or behavior descriptions. These categories are not mutually exclusive, for some scales are a combination of two or even three types. Some scales, for example, are a combination of the graphic and check-list types; and a scoring system can be imposed upon them. The classification offered here is arbitrary and only suggestive.

Some other persons, such as Weiss[4] and Freeman,[5] classify rating scales into two basic groups—scoring and ranking methods. Because, however, some recent and generally considered superior scales are designed for helping teachers to study and describe student behavior rather than to evaluate or measure it, the terms "scoring" and "ranking" do not seem to cover certain important scales being used in the schools today. Moreover, the authors of some such instruments try to prevent scoring by stating that the instruments are *not* rating scales. Nevertheless, these scales, although entitled "personality reports" or "behavior descriptions," are discussed as rating scales by Freeman,[6] Strang,[7] and others. They are the type of scale described here as check lists or behavior descriptions.

The Scoring Method

The Man-to-man Scale. Certain types of rating scales have been developed for use in industry, clinics, and the armed forces that are, on the whole, not practical for use in schools because of the amount of work involved in using them or because of the special training needed by the user. An example is the man-to-man scale developed by Scott in 1917 and adopted in 1918 for rating many United States Army officers. Because the scale has certain advantages and because it is frequently referred to in discussions on rating scales, it is considered here.

When the man-to-man method is used, each rater builds his own scale

[4] L. A. Weiss, "Rating Scales," *Psychological Bulletin*, 30:186–187, March, 1933.

[5] F. S. Freeman, *Theory and Practice of Psychological Testing*, p. 365. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1950.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 370.

[7] Ruth Strang, *Counseling Technics in College and Secondary School*, rev. ed., pp. 65–67. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

in terms of actual persons. The Army Rating Scale of this type included five traits: physical qualities, intelligence, leadership, personal qualities, and general value to the service. An officer selected as examples of each trait five men of his rank with whom he was well acquainted. He included in his list of examples for each trait officers whom he considered very poor as well as ones whom he considered very good. He listed the names in rank order from highest to lowest in the spaces provided on the scale form. The scores assigned the five intervals were the same for all five traits. The item for intelligence as given on the form is as follows:[8]

Intelligence

Accuracy, ease in learning, ability to grasp quickly the point of view of commanding officer, to issue clear and intelligent orders, to estimate a new situation, and to arrive at a sensible decision in a crisis.	Highest...... 15
	High 12
	Middle. 9
	Low 6
	Lowest 3

In rating subordinates, the officer made a man-to-man comparison with the officers named on his scale. Only after he had made concrete comparisons did he consider the numerical scores. If he considered the position of the man being rated to be between the positions of two officers named on his scale, he assigned him a numerical rating accordingly. If, for example, he assigned the man a position between the low man and the middle man, he gave him a score of 7, 7½, or 8 in accordance with his estimate of the man's nearness to the middle or the low man.

Some research workers, such as Cleeton and Knight,[9] show that the man-to-man rating method has a definite advantage in helping to cut down overestimation. The method has, however, a serious weakness in that each rater's scale is different and may not be closely related to the scales used by others in rating either the same person or other persons. Furthermore, as its authors[10] state, the method is "relatively cumbersome" and, hence, not generally applicable.

Sample Rating Scale. Perhaps the simplest illustration of the scoring type of rating scales used in the schools is to be found in Dresher's[11] Sample Rating Scale, which is given below:

[8] Committee on Classification of Personnel, Adjutant General's Department, *The Personnel Manual*, p. 260. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919. Reproduced by permission of the Department of the Army.

[9] G. U. Cleeton and F. B. Knight, "Validity of Character Judgments Based on External Criteria," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 8:15–231, June, 1924.

[10] W. D. Scott and R. C. Clothier, *Personnel Management*, p. 207. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1923. In the fourth edition of this book (1949) no mention is made of the man-to-man scale, and less attention is given to this type of scale than in the 1923 edition.

[11] R. C. Dresher, "Learning about Pupils through the Use of Tests and Other Instruments," in C. E. Erickson, editor, *A Basic Text for Guidance Workers*, p. 78. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. Reproduced by permission of Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Some student traits are listed below. The two extremes of each trait are given. If the child excels, encircle number five; if very deficient, encircle number one. Number three represents the average. In other words, the number encircled should then represent the degree to which the child possesses the trait.

		Attention				
Poor..................	1	2	3	4	5	Good
		Industry				
Lacks industry..........	1	2	3	4	5	Industrious
		Persistence				
Easily discouraged......	1	2	3	4	5	Persistent
		Inaccuracy (in work)				
Inaccurate.............	1	2	3	4	5	Accurate

Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Scales. Perhaps the best example of the scoring type of rating scale is the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules,[12] which are more in the nature of measurements than is any other scale discussed in this chapter. They are scoring procedures designed for the detection and study of problem behavior and problem tendencies among students and include two schedules printed in one folder. Schedule A is a behavior-problem record on which the rater indicates his estimate of the frequency of occurrence of 15 types or sources of behavior problems, such as cheating, lying, and speech difficulties. The two following items are taken from Schedule A:

Behavior problem....	Has never occurred	Has occurred once or twice but no more	Occasional occurrence	Frequent occurrence	Score
Lying..............	0	4	6	7	
Bullying............	0	8	12	14	

In using Schedule A, the teacher, disregarding the numbers used in scoring, indicates how frequently the behavior has occurred in his experience with the student by placing a cross in the appropriate column after each item.

Schedule B is a behavior-rating scale that contains 35 questions regarding intellectual, physical, social, and emotional traits. Brief descriptions are given at five points beneath the lines, and the numbers used in scoring are given beneath the descriptions. The following illustrates the items contained in Schedule B:

[12] M. E. Haggerty *et al.*, *Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules.* New York: World Book Company, 1930.

20. How does he accept authority?

Defiant	Critical of authority	Ordinarily obedient	Respectful, complies by habit	Entirely resigned, accepts all authority
(5)	(4)	(3)	(t)	(2)

The Ranking Method

Ranking scales are used in rating members of the same group for the purpose of intragroup comparison. The names of the group members are arranged in serial order from highest to lowest in keeping with the members' status for some characteristic. The rank of 1 is assigned to the top or best individual, of 2 to the next highest, and so forth. This order of merit method is frequently used in schools for showing the students' standing with respect to scholastic achievement, but it is rarely used with regard to personality traits.

It is common practice to show on a student's high-school record his rank in class at the time of graduation and to record this information on the report to a college. For example, the transcript for John Doe may show that he ranked 5 in a class of 293. For the information to be very meaningful, the size of the class must be given. The rank of 288, for instance, has one meaning if the class size is 288 and another if the class size is 588. It is true that a student who ranks 5 in a class of 12 may be more able than John Doe who ranks 5 in a class of 293, but a rank of 5 in a class of 293 is ordinarily more readily accepted as evidence of scholastic strength than is the rank of 5 in a class of 12.

The ranking method may be employed by a faculty in selecting the student to receive an honor for which some requirements are intangible. The honor, for example, is to go to the "best all-round student" in terms of scholastic achievement, citizenship, leadership, service to the school, and the like. The teachers may agree that certain students should be given serious consideration, but they may fail to agree regarding the one to receive the honor. The decision may be reached by having all teachers rank the candidates and then deciding the winner on the basis of the ratings given.

Graphic Rating Scales

The most widely used type of rating scale is probably the graphic scale. In using this type of scale, the rater places a check on a continuous line at the point between the two extremes that, he believes, best indicates the degree to which the person rated possesses the characteristic named. This type of scale appears on the forms used by many high schools in reporting to colleges and employment offices. Figure 10 shows the

simple type of graphic scale included in the report form used in many Pennsylvania high schools.

	Lowest	Low	Middle	High	Highest
Trustworthiness					
Initiative					
Industry					
Social adaptability					
Personal appearance					
Sympathy					

FIG. 10.

The graphic scale is improved when the scale steps are defined through descriptive words or phrases. Figure 11 gives an illustration, taken from Freeman,[13] in which the scale intervals are defined in terms of quality and frequency. If a horizontal line is used, as in Figure 11, the explanations are ordinarily placed beneath the line. If a vertical line is used, they are ordinarily placed to the left. The vertical-line arrangement is

Attitude toward others

Quarrelsome, uncooperative, upsets morale.	At times difficult to work with.	Ordinarily tactful, co-operative, and self-controlled.	Always congenial and cooperative.	Unusually strong factor in co-operation and group morale.

FIG. 11.

relatively little used. In investigating the relation between vertical and horizontal graphic rating scales, Carpenter[14] found significant differences in the findings from the two types. On the whole, the horizontal ratings of the individual items assumed a more nearly normal distribution than did the vertical relations.

In some graphic scales the line is unbroken; in others it is divided into steps or intervals. When the line is divided, the rater is expected to indicate the student's position within the interval. When the line is un-

[13] Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
[14] James H. Carpenter, "An Experimental Study Investigating the Relation between Vertical and Horizontal Graphic Rating Scales" (unpublished master's thesis), pp. 28–37. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1950.

marked, the rater may place his check anywhere along the line between the two extremes. Carpenter[15] found, however, that when the line is unbroken, raters do not make fine discriminations but tend to think of the line as if it were divided into thirds or fourths.

Opinions differ regarding the optimum number of intervals for the divided line. The range for most scales is from two to nine with five and seven being used most frequently. Symonds[16] computed that seven is the average optimum number for rating human traits. He says, however, that under certain conditions fewer intervals are justified. He finds more than three or four inexpedient if the trait named is an obscure one or if the raters are only moderately interested in the task of rating.

The Personality Record. Although asserted not to be a rating scale, the Personality Record[17] developed by the National Association of Secondary-school Principals is a graphic scale as is shown by the two items given in Figure 12.

1. Seriousness of purpose	Purposeless	Vacillating	Potential	Self-directed	Purposeful
2. Industry	Seldom works even under pressure	Needs constant pressure	Needs occasional prodding	Prepares assigned work	Seeks additional work
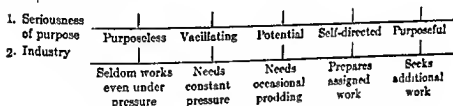
FIG. 12.

The instructions for use of this scale are clearly designed, however, to prevent the use of scoring or of summary statements in terms of average ratings. According to the instructions, the most common or the modal rating for each characteristic is to be indicated on a student's cumulative record by the letter M followed by a number in parentheses that shows the number of teachers who assign him this rating. The number of teachers who assign other ratings to the student is to be indicated by numbers placed at the proper points along the line. If, for example, five of the eight teachers who appraise a student for "seriousness of purpose" rate him as "potential," two as "purposeful," and one as "vacillating," M(5) is written above the word "potential," 2 above "purposeful," and 1 above "vacillating." In this way both the modal rating and the variations are shown for each characteristic listed on the form. This procedure provides much more significant information about the student than can be obtained from recording the average ratings only.

Recording the Results. It is not easy to show on most graphic scales

the ratings received by a student each year over a period of time. It can
be done on the "cumulative record copy" of some instruments by draw-
ing a line to separate the record for one year from that of another or by
distinguishing the results for one year from those of other years by the
color of the ink used. In many cases, however, the result is very likely
to be a badly crowded record, one that is not easy to read. To simplify
recording of cumulative results, in some schools a scoring system is im-
posed upon the scale by assigning numerical values to the various scale
intervals: and the results are recorded in terms of average ratings only.

The information obtained from recording variations in ratings for each
year is more significant than the information obtained from reporting
cumulative numerical ratings in terms of averages. This is one reason,
no doubt, why the authors of the personality record described above and
the behavior description described in the next section try to prevent scor-
ing by stipulating that the results are not to be recorded on cumulative
records in terms of average ratings only but, instead, in a way that will
show the mode, the range, and the variations in judgments or impressions
expressed by different raters or judges of the same person.

The meaningfulness of average ratings is dependent upon the re-
liability of ratings by individual teachers. If the ratings are very reliable,
there will be slight variations in the different ratings unless the student
is displaying unstable or contradictory patterns of behavior, which is
sometimes the case. If, however, the variations among judgments are
large because the ratings are unreliable, using an average of the ratings
without regard to their variations might be, as Freeman[18] says, misleading
or even absurd. "For example, if, on a seven-point scale, two judges rated
an individual at -3, two at $+3$, and two at zero, the mean rating would
be zero (or average level), whereas the probability is that he is not aver-
age at all in view of the wide disparity of judgments."

Check Lists and Behavior Descriptions

Classified Lists. A check list developed by Hartshorne[19] and his co-
workers was one of the earliest scales of the check-list type developed
for use by teachers. The scale includes 80 pairs of antonyms arranged
in two columns with positive and negative words intermixed in each
column. In using this scale, the teacher checks every word that describes
the student being rated. He may check as many words as he thinks apply,
or he may check none at all if he thinks that none apply. By subtracting
the number of negative words from the number of positive words, a score
of -1, 0, or $+1$ is obtained.

[18] Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 365–366.
[19] Hugh Hartshorne *et al.*, *Studies in Service and Self-control*, pp. 91–93. New
York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

This type of scale in a modified form is still used in the schools today. The rating sheet, for example, used in the East Bakersfield (Calif.) High School contains both a graphic rating scale and a check list. In the check list the descriptive words and phrases are classified as "positive" or "negative." They are not intermixed, as in the Hartshorne scale, but are arranged in separate columns. The teachers are instructed to check the "traits most characteristic of the student" rather than to mark every term that describes the student. No attempt is made to score the results.

Most scales of the check-list type which are used in the schools today do not provide for scoring. The chief purpose behind the use of such instruments is to ascertain the teachers' opinions regarding the behaviors most characteristic of the students rated rather than to measure the extent to which the students are characterized by certain traits or to compare one student with the others. Even so, such check lists and behavior descriptions are not free of one serious shortcoming of rating scales of the scoring or ranking types. As described by Greene,[20] the shortcoming is as follows: "Rating methods combine two difficult psychological processes in one judgment: (1) observation and recording of performance and (2) the evaluation of performance. This combination usually results in inaccurate observation and evaluation." The check lists with items that are labeled "positive" or "negative" are not wholly free of evaluation even though the instructions may be to "check all items most characteristic of the student." The emphasis is, however, upon describing behavior rather than upon appraising it.

Some writers seek to assist teachers to gain skill in observation by providing classified check lists which help teachers to learn what to observe and how to record their observations in an accurate, methodical manner. Among such writers is Torgerson,[21] who gives in his *Studying Children* an inventory or check-list scale that, like the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules, is designed to help teachers detect behavior problems, problem tendencies, and sources of problem. Unlike the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman scale, however, this check list is not scored. The scale contains some 200 items that name or briefly describe the faulty school or undesirable behavior manifestations frequently found among school students. The items are classified under the headings of scholarship, reading, spelling, arithmetic, vision, hearing, health, speech, and social behavior. With the exception of spelling and arithmetic, these lists are applicable to grades 1 through 12. The spelling and arithmetic check lists are not intended for use beyond grade 9 but do seem applicable for diagnostic purposes in certain cases at the senior-high-school level. The 50

[20] Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
[21] Theodore L. Torgerson, *Studying Children: Diagnostic and Remedial Procedures in Teaching*, Chap. 3. New York: The Dryden Press, Inc., 1947.

items contained in the list for "social behavior" are reproduced in the following chapter.

The ACE Personality Report. The graphic type of rating scale is frequently combined with the classified check-list type, as is done in the Personality Record developed by the National Association of Secondary-school Principals (described above) and the American Council on Education Personality Report. The ACE instrument is a graphic scale in both its original form and its first revised form. The values of the line intervals are progressively higher from left to right and are designated by descriptive phrases printed beneath the line. The rater indicates his evaluation

| A. How are you and others affected by his appearance and manner? | Avoided by others | Toler- sted by others | Liked by others | Well liked by others | Sought by others | No oppor- tunity to observe |

Please record here instances that support your judgment.

Fig. 13. Illustration from Revision A. (*Reproduced by permission of the American Council on Education.*)

by placing a check mark on the horizontal line. Because, in general, raters fail to take advantage of the opportunity to make fine discriminations by checking between the descriptive phrases, the check-on-the-line method was discarded in Revision B of the ACE scale. In all forms, the original and the two revised forms, the term "personality report" is used, instead of "rating scale"; and the rater is instructed to report instances on which he bases his judgments.

| A—How are you and others af- fected by his ap- pearance and manner? | ☐ Sought by others
☐ Well liked by others
☐ Liked by others
☐ Tolerated by others
☐ Avoided by others
☐ No opportunity to observe | Please record here instances on which you base your judgment. |

Fig. 14. Illustration from Revision B. (*Reproduced by permission of the American Council on Education.*)

The subheads that appear in the vertical arrangement of the second revised form (Revision B) of the ACE Personality Report are the same ones given beneath the lines in the original form and in Revision A. The arrangements used in Revisions A and B for the same items are illustrated in Figures 13 and 14.

The other check lists included in the ACE scale are presented under the following questions:

B. Does he need frequent prodding or does he go ahead without being told?

C. Does he get others to do what he wishes?

D. How does he control his emotions?

E. Has he a program with definite purposes in terms of which he distributes his time and energy?

As in the case of item A, the rater checks one of the five possible answers or indicates that he has not had an opportunity to observe the student for the type of behavior covered by the question.

This scale has several important advantages: (1) Questions, instead of descriptive phrases, are used for designating the qualities covered by the scale. The question helps the rater to define the quality for which an individual is to be rated. (2) Judges are not required to rate an individual for every trait. An effort is made to raise the validity and the reliability of the scale by having the judges rate an individual for only the qualities that have been evident to them. (3) Judgments are to be made on the basis of observation evidence, and the evidence is to be reported. The use of anecdotal material helps to increase the validity and the reliability of the scale provided the material is used correctly. If the rater checks the subitem that, he believes, best represents his evaluation of the student and then seeks observation evidence in support of his rating, he is putting the cart before the horse. If, however, he records what he has observed of the student with respect to the particular trait and then on the basis of the evidence marks the item that best represents the individual as he has observed him to be, the rater is using the technique correctly.

The ACE Personality Report has been well received by the authorities and apparently is widely used in high schools and colleges. With minor modifications Revision A is included in the record form used by the California high schools for reporting to colleges. Revision B, also with minor modifications, has been adopted by the National League of Nursing Education for use in schools of nursing.

The PEA Behavior Description. Probably the most important development in the check-list type of scale is the instrument developed by a subcommittee on records and reports of the Eight Year Study of the Progressive Education Association. This scale, entitled Behavior Description, includes description of complex intellectual activities as well as of certain behavior and personality characteristics commonly listed in rating scales.

The Behavior Description form is based upon careful evaluation and extensive experimentation. After exploring the work done by others, the PEA committee[22] made a survey of the "people describing terms" and compiled a list of key words that best express the fundamental meanings

agreed on by its members. From this list terms were selected on the basis of four criteria: (1) importance—they throw light on the student; (2) observability—at least some teachers will have an opportunity to observe significant behavior in relation to them; (3) completeness—they give a reasonably complete picture of the student as seen by the teacher; and (4) differentness—terms are independent enough for teachers to be able to distinguish between them. After the list of characteristics was agreed upon, blanks were developed for recording behavior in terms of them; a manual was written; and both the blanks and the manual were tried out in the cooperating schools. After the results had been analyzed by two research groups under the chairmanships of Buros and Wood, the blanks and manual were revised. After further trial, experimentation, and testing, the Behavior Description form was again revised and issued in experimental form.

The PEA scale describes certain types of behavior listed under the following characteristics: (1) responsibility-dependability; (2) creativeness and imagination; (3) influence; (4) inquiring mind; (5) open-mindedness; (6) the power and habit of analysis: the habit of reaching conclusions on the basis of valid evidence; (7) emotional responsiveness; (8) serious purpose; (9) social adjustability; and (10) work habits. The descriptive subitems for these ten characteristics do not represent named points with supposedly equal intervals between them. They cannot, according to the report, even be said to define orders of excellence in that there is no certainty that the first subhead is better than the ones that follow it although the first named describes behavior generally considered highly desirable and the one last named describes behavior not indicative of traits as favorable as those indicated by the preceding items.

Also, there is no certainty that any type of behavior listed is the "best for all kinds of people under all kinds of conditions." In short, the emphasis is upon learning and describing a student's behavior patterns, not upon labeling them "good" or "bad," "superior" or "inferior." Furthermore, the committee[22] did not try to offer an inclusive list, recognizing that "the limited number of descriptions cannot exactly describe all possible kinds of behavior" but believing "that the definitions will usually fit closely enough for practical purposes, particularly since when necessary they can be modified by further comment." Elsewhere on the form, space is provided for such comments.

Four other characteristics are listed on the form for which check lists are not given: (1) physical energy, (2) assurances, (3) self-reliance, and (4) emotional control. For these four the teachers indicate only whether the characteristic is present or absent to a marked degree. The form also provides spaces in which the teachers record their judgments of the stu-

²² *Ibid.,* pp. 434–435.

BEHAVIOR DESCRIPTION[1]
(Experimental Form)

Last name   First   Middle   School

This report describes the characteristic behavior of the student in a number of important areas. It should not be interpreted as a rating. Instead one should read the descriptions and attempts to get from them an understanding of the student.

Directions:

(1) In general the initials of subject or activity fields are used in the recording in order to identify the relation between the observer and the student. A complete key is given at the top of the table if the table folded over sheet.

(2) The spaces from left to right, being chronological, show the changes or continuity in behavior during the period covered by the record.

(3) While agreements in description may show a subject's most common behavior, they may not be as important than an isolated judgment, which often has great significance because of a better basis for judgment, or because it indicates a response to some particular condition, field, or personality.

Social Content	Type	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Generally Concerned: Shows an likeable and general social concern and interprets this in action to the extent of his abilities and opportunities.	1						
Selectively Concerned: Shows concern by attitude and action about certain social conditions but seems unable to appreciate the importance of other such problems.	2						
Personal: Is not strongly concerned about the welfare of others and responds to social problems only when he recognizes some intimate personal relationship to the problem or group in question.	3						
Inactive: Seems aware of social problems, and may profess concern about them but does nothing.	4						
Unconcerned: Does not show any genuine concern for the common good.	5						
EMOTIONAL RESPONSIVENESS							
To Invest: Is emotionally stirred by becoming aware of challenging ideas	1						
To Difficulty: Responds emotionally to a situation of problem challenging to him because of the possibility of overcoming difficulties	2						
To Ideals: Responds emotionally to what is characterized primarily by its idealism	3						
To Beauty: Responds emotionally to beauty as found in nature and the arts	4						
To Order: Responds emotionally to perfection of functioning as it is seen in organization, mechanical operation or logical completeness	5						

[1] Used by special permission of the publisher.

Fig. 15. Behavior Description heading and one complete item. (A. J. Jones, *Principles of Guidance and Pupil Personnel Work*, 4th ed., p. 201. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951. The Behavior Description form is now obtainable from the American Fellowship, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.)

dent's success in four broad fields: (1) abstract ideas and symbols, (2) people, (3) planning and management, and (4) things and manipulation. The committee felt that any information obtained on marked differences in success in these four areas would be valuable in helping a student to plan for the future.

The behavior description record is an 8½" × 11" card and cannot be easily reproduced here. In Figure 15 a portion of the record is reproduced, enough to show how provision is made for recording the teachers' judgments over a period of years—grades 7 to 12. The teacher puts, instead of a check mark, the initials of his subject or activity field in the space after the item selected as the best description of the student's behavior. Elsewhere on the record a complete key shows the name of each rater as well as his relation to the student.

The Behavior Description shows a student's range of behavior and his most common behavior with regard to the traits noted on the scale. If it does not show any behavior as being most common, that is, if it does not show any modal point or points, then this fact is significant in itself. In general, the instrument gives a good picture and gives it in such a way that the material can be easily and quickly transferred to a student's cumulative record. Furthermore, the scale has been made a part of the cumulative record forms developed for use in particular schools. It has also been incorporated in the revised ACE cumulative record folder (described in Chap. 13) for junior and senior high schools where it is used with a few alterations and one important addition—spaces are added at the right for summarization of observation evidence.

Certain studies made by Rothney[24] show that the characteristics named on the Behavior Description are sufficiently different and that judgments are made sufficiently well by teachers for the instrument to give a good picture of a student. Rothney reported, among other things, that the recordings on the Behavior Description do not merely reflect school marks; for he found that the judgments could not be predicted accurately on the basis of the marks received by the students concerned. He also found that evidence from the Behavior Description did not vary significantly from evidence on the same items obtained from certain other sources.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF RATINGS

A Subjective Technique. The failure of many raters to base their judgments on objective observation, instead of subjective opinion, reduces considerably the reliability and validity of rating scales. Raters fail in this respect so frequently that many writers have concluded with

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[24] J. W. M. Rothney and B. A. Roens, *Counseling the Individual Student*, pp. 99–102. New York: The Dryden Press, Inc., 1949.

Bradshaw[25] that the only thing that can be said safely of ratings is that they tell what the raters think about the person rated.

A scientific method requires a high degree of validity and reliability attained through strict adherence to objective observation. The criteria commonly used for rating scales, however, are subjective judgments because widely accepted objective criteria are not available for the intangible qualities, such as tact, generosity, sympathy, and leadership, that are commonly included in rating scales. In actual practice, because of the lack of appropriate objective criteria, the validity of the rating scale is assumed, as Freeman[26] says, "to rest upon the judges' understanding of the meanings of the traits being evaluated and their accuracy in rating them." Inasmuch as lack of agreement among the judges is not uncommon, the problem becomes a complicated one. Hence, it is not surprising that, in general, rating scales have proved disappointingly low in validity and reliability.

The validity of ratings is ordinarily increased by obtaining judgments from a number of persons, for raters seem to neutralize one another's idiosyncrasies and prejudices. The number of judges most frequently recommended is from five to seven with three as the minimum. Some judges are more reliable than others. An accurate rater will repeat his ratings with a high degree of consistency, but so will a biased rater. A biased rater may consistently rate as low or high the person against whom or in whose favor he is prejudiced. Moreover, he may be biased against a certain type of behavior, and so he consistently rates as low or high the individuals who display or do not display the type of behavior that offends him. The validity of any scale is lowered by errors made consistently or systematically by the raters.

Some characteristics are more difficult to discriminate than others. As one would expect, the greatest variations in judgments occur in the rating of intangible qualities. Considerable disagreement, however, is found at times in the rating of qualities that are easily observed and that, one might believe, could be evaluated uniformly. Greene[27] illustrates this point with material from the California Adolescent Growth Study which shows that the judges agreed very consistently in their ratings for "social responsibility," "popularity," and "self-assertion" but disagreed considerably in their ratings of "appearance" and "grooming." Yet these two items are characteristics that are supposedly easy to define on a rating scale. The fact that the judges showed great lack of agreement indicates that the judgments were not made on the basis of objective criteria. They were made, no doubt, in terms of the subjective values of the raters—

[25] F. P. Bradshaw, "The American Council on Education Rating Scale," *Archives of Psychology*, 18:52, October, 1930.
[26] Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 366.
[27] Greene, *op. cit.*, pp. 459–460.

their own standards, perhaps, for appearance and grooming which varied with the raters' backgrounds, own problems with respect to appearance and grooming, general experience, and the like. Carefully defining the characteristics for which an individual is to be rated contributes to the reliability and the validity of a scale, but it does not guarantee them.

The validity of a teacher's ratings may be affected by the "acquaintance factor." Ratings are not likely to be valid if they are based upon inadequate acquaintance with the person rated. On the other hand, too close a relationship with the person rated may also lead to inaccurate ratings; for, as a rule, raters tend to be overgenerous with the persons whom they like, have known for a long time, or are closely associated with. Similarly, they tend to underestimate the strengths and to overestimate the defects and deficiencies of the persons whom they dislike. Furthermore, wide acquaintance with people in general may help to raise the quality of ratings on particular individuals. Raters who have had broad experience with a variety of people have a better basis for their judgments of human behavior and are likely to rate other persons more accurately than are raters who have had a limited acquaintance with people.

The Halo Effect. The tendency to rate a person for specific traits on the basis of an over-all impression of him results in what Thorndike[22] described as the "halo" effect. The rater tends to think of the person in general as rather good or rather inferior and to color the judgments of the qualities by this general finding. Symonds cites an example from Rugg that should make us seriously ponder whether we are permitting our general impressions of some students to blind us to these students' strengths. He presents the illustration as follows:[23]

Rugg tells of a certain "Captain X" who was so well known and conspicuous in his group that he was used by thirteen officers in twenty different subordinate scales . . . as "the poorest man I ever knew." Yet this same Captain X stood first on three different psychological tests among 151 officers. He had been a Rhodes scholar from a Middle Western State university, and at Oxford he had made such a record that he was excused from certain examinations. Comments of eight of the thirteen officers who had judged him so severely showed that their estimates of his intelligence, his physical qualities, and his leadership were dominated by their opinions of his business qualities. They were unanimous in saying that it was impossible "to live with him." He was a "rotter," or "yellow," or a "knocker," or "conceited."

Since rating scales are used primarily for obtaining information on the relative strengths and weaknesses of an individual, the halo effect decreases, if it does not destroy, the usefulness of the instrument. The halo

[22] E. L. Thorndike, "A Constant Error in Psychological Rating," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 4:25, March, 1920.

[23] Symonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112. Used by permission of Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.

can be counteracted in part by having judges rate all members of a group for one trait before they rate any member for the next one and follow this procedure with all the traits listed on the scale. Cronbach[10] states that limiting the number of traits to be rated also helps to check the tendency to rate a person in keeping with the over-all opinion of him. He asserts that the traits to be rated should be limited to only the ones essential to the purpose involved and that the number should rarely be over five or seven. "As more traits are added, judges give less serious consideration to each and rely more upon the 'halo.'"

Another procedure that is frequently recommended for avoiding the halo effect is to vary the arrangements of the subheads listed for each trait or characteristic. Ordinarily the not desirable items are listed first in a vertical arrangement or to the left on a horizontal scale. If the subheads for the various traits are arranged irregularly, the rater will not be able to go down the page checking for each trait in approximately the same place. Varying the arrangement may force him to slow up, to read the items more thoughtfully, and to mark them more carefully than he might do otherwise. If, of course, the rater does not take care to read the subheads, if he assumes that the arrangement for all traits is the same and routinely proceeds down the page accordingly, errors are introduced rather than avoided. Carpenter,[11] for example, varied the arrangements of subheads in his study of vertical and horizontal scales and found that through the irregular arrangement "there is an error introduced in the rating procedure." Although most writers recommend varying the arrangement in order to prevent the halo effect, the recommendation is not followed (with the possible but doubtful exception of PEA Behavior Description) in any of the scales referred to here. Perhaps the authors of these scales thought that variations in the groupings might add unknown errors, that more might be lost than gained by following the recommendation for an irregular arrangement.

Selection of Raters. If the validity of the rating scale depends largely upon the rater—upon his understanding of the traits appraised and his accuracy in rating them, then selection of the rater is very important. In many schools all teachers are asked to rate all their students, the assumption being that the combined ratings of a number of approximately equally competent judges is better than those of one or two, that the errors will tend to cancel one another. Research supports this assumption. Research and experience also show, however, that the judgment of one expert is ordinarily better than the combined judgments of several non-experts.

[10] Lee J. Cronbach. *Essentials of Psychological Testing*, p. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

[11] Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

In accordance with this finding, in one school the student is rated by one person only—his counselor. Ordinarily each student in this school is served by the same counselor throughout his stay in the school. The rating plan works very well, for the counselors are trained selected guidance workers who usually have sufficient time for doing their work. They meet their counselees regularly and often; they regularly confer with the teachers and others who work with their counselees; and they regularly meet together to confer about their work and about individual students. The ratings received by the majority of the students are probably more accurate than they might be otherwise. Some students, however, because of personal prejudice and other factors are, no doubt, rated less accurately by their counselors than they would be through the combined ratings of all their teachers.

In some schools this plan of having the student rated by his counselor only would be a very poor one to follow because the counselor may be the person who knows the student least well. In these schools the counselors have too many counselees and too little time for becoming acquainted with their counselees either directly or through information obtained from others. Under such conditions it is doubtful that the counselor should be permitted to rate certain students at all. He may know some of his counselees as well as the other teachers do because he, too, is one of their teachers. These students he should be permitted to rate, but not the others.

USE OF RATING SCALES

In high schools and colleges rating scales are probably used most frequently for collecting personality data to be reported to prospective employers or to some other school or training agency. Probably because of this practice, ratings are obtained on students most often just before they graduate. In some schools, however, ratings are obtained periodically—once or twice a year usually—and the information is used for studying the development of individual students and for obtaining some of the information needed as a basis for guidance.

Rating scales, like anecdotal records, are probably best used when used for helping teachers to become observant of student behavior and sensitive to trends in the growth of students and for helping them to analyze and refine their judgments of students and student behavior. As stressed above, rating scales of the classified check-list or behavior-description types are most useful for this purpose. Identification of problems and detection of high potentialities should always be major objectives in any study of individuals. Teachers can use rating scales specifically for this purpose by rating only the students whom they consider to be at either extreme with respect to any characteristic named in the

scale. The Haggerty-Olson-Wickham schedules and Torgerson's scales, as has already been pointed out, are designed specifically for helping teachers to identify behavior problems in certain areas.

DEVELOPMENT OF A RATING SCALE FOR USE IN A PARTICULAR SCHOOL

In view of the technical knowledge needed and the amount of experimentation required to produce a good rating scale and in view of the number of good standard scales now available, it may be no more desirable for a faculty to try to develop the rating scales than it is for them to try to produce the intelligence tests to be used in their school. If, however, it is decided that some faculty member or committee should develop a rating scale for use in the school, the following guiding principles should be considered:

1. The faculty should decide first what data are needed for giving a better understanding of individual students and should then sort out the various ways in which these data may be obtained. Some may be obtained better through some other procedure rather than through the recording of observation by means of a rating scale.

2. Only observable traits of characteristics should be included in the scale. More reliable ratings can be obtained for overt characteristics than for inner qualities.

3. General terms should be avoided. The traits selected and the terms used in defining them should be clearly and specifically explained. Otherwise, different raters may interpret the terms differently; and disagreement may cause considerable variation in the ratings. As pointed out above, for ratings to be valid, variations in judgments must be small.

4. Specific instructions should be provided on the rating-scale blank which should include such cautions as the following:

   a. Make judgments independently without consulting others.
   b. Rate all students for one trait before rating any student for the next trait listed in the scale.
   c. Rate on the basis of actual experience with the student.
   d. Do not guess or infer anything which you cannot determine through observation. In brief, be reasonably sure of your judgment. If you are uncertain, do not give a rating.
   e. Make your ratings as honestly as possible. Try to avoid the influence of gossip, prestige factors, personal likes and dislikes. Complete integrity is essential.

5. Use of the scale should be preceded by a period of training and practice in its use.

6. The data obtained through use of the rating scale should be applied in actual school practice. Practice should include providing students experiences rich in preventive and developmental value as well as experiences of therapeutic value.

These principles should be observed in selecting and using standard rating scales as well as in developing and using teacher-made scales.

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Observation: Prevention and Correction

Like test results, findings from observations should be made known and carefully studied so that they may be used in any work indicated to be needed. In many schools, however, teachers may each keep very careful extensive anecdotal records on one or more students and yet never be asked or given an opportunity to report their findings to the faculty or the particular faculty members or committees most concerned. Very seldom is an attempt made by the administrator, guidance director, or any other staff member to study the results from some special use of a rating scale, behavior description report, personality inventory, or the like in order to present an analysis and synthesis of the results for study and discussion by the faculty as a whole or in committees. If a summary report is prepared, it is frequently too general in nature, failing to focus attention oo specific cases; and too often the report, whether sketchy or comprehensive, leads to little action on the part of individual teachers or of groups. Action is generally limited to the more or less passive reading of the report or the listening to the report read and the uttering of such comments as "Very interesting," "Just as I thought," "I find this item very significant." Having been commented on, the reports are then put aside; and school goes on as usual.

And the students may go on as usual. Those whose behavior has been observed as being, in general, wholesome and desirable may continue to display this type of behavior. Or they may not. Students who have heen observed to be displaying highly desirable patterns of behavior and developmental trends may continue on the high road of development. Or they may not. Some may take a wrong turn and descend to a lower level. Some may continue in the same direction hut slow up, becoming just average adults, no better or worse than the majority. Students who have been reported as showing symptoms of mild behavior disorders may develop serious behavior problems. Or they may not. Some influence may come into their lives, in school or ont of school, that serves to counteract the forces prnducing or helping to produce undesirable behavior. Some

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of these students may develop into such serious behavior problems that they may fail in school work, be put out of class, be suspended from school, or be disciplined in some other way so frequently that they finally withdraw to the great relief of some teachers. Getting such students out of school may solve the problem for some teachers but may not solve it for some students. Or it may. Some of these students may find out of school the assistance needed but never received while in school. Others may find no more help outside of school than they did in it, and out of school they may be without certain wholesome influences experienced in school and which did have some steadying influence upon them. They may become more serious behavior problems than they were before.

There was a time when we might be excused for not observing certain aspects of student behavior and for not understanding the significance of much that we did see. For more than a quarter of a century, however, teacher-training programs have included study of general and educational psychology and methods courses that contain units on mental hygiene, personality, and adjustment. Furthermore, curriculum materials supposedly have been revised so that teachers are prepared to perform the functions of a guidance worker as well as those of an instructor. Hence, it is difficult to understand how seriously maladjusted students can go unnoticed or unattended by all teachers in any school today. Yet many such cases are completely unnoticed. Others are noticed but ignored, and some are even laughed at.

The students are legion who can be named as examples of behavior problems studied about but not recognized or understood. There is some evidence that, if such students are doing well scholastically, we are less likely to notice that they are not doing well in other ways. Here are a few examples: Chuck is a young man who is now serving time in a Federal prison. He got into trouble with the government in much the same way that he used to get into trouble with his fellow students until the students learned to accept him as the teachers seemed to do and just laugh at him. Apparently the teachers were more amused than concerned because of Chuck's extravagant stories. He could always top anything told by anyone else. When another boy reported that he was going to spend the summer on his uncle's ranch, Chuck promptly announced that he was to take a trip around the world that summer on his uncle's yacht. When another student proudly reported that he had become an uncle, that his sister had a baby boy, Chuck reported that his sister had had twins the week before. That he had only one sister and that she was only ten years old did not seem to bother Chuck at all. It did not bother his teachers either. They laughed and passed on the story for others to enjoy.

Chuck's stories were so extravagant that no one ever took them se-

riously. The stories should not have been taken seriously, perhaps, but the boy's problem should have been. He was an intelligent lad, a good student, a good school citizen, always anxious to do his part. At home he was a good son and brother, always willing to help. His parents did not know how to help him; his teachers did not try. Maybe the prison psychologist will be able to give Chuck the time and assistance needed so that when he does leave prison he may not need to prove his worth by outtalking others. A stay in prison, however, does not usually help one's self-esteem; so it may be too late.

A girl graduated from high school, ranking in the top quarter of her class. She obtained and lost six jobs in less than six months. She now stays at home "looking after her parents." Throughout her high-school years the teachers noticed at times that the girl was "peculiar," but none took steps to help her to become "normal." They observed that she usually sat apart from the class, avoided participation in group activities, ate her lunch alone, and withdrew in other ways. Her history teacher once came upon her in an unlighted storeroom where the girl had gone to eat her lunch. Such behavior was observed and commented upon, but further attention was not given to it. After all, the girl was doing very well in her studies. She was not creating any problem for the school, and apparently she could look after herself. Today she is "looking after her parents" who do not need looking after and who would like very much to see their daughter working and enjoying life like the other girls who graduated with her.

A boy who had always done very well in school began to do failing work. His counselor talked to the boy about his work. The boy told the counselor about his problem, and the counselor told him what to do. The boy continued failing, however. The counselor learned that the boy had gone to another teacher with his problem and that this teacher had also advised him what to do. Despite the additional advice, however, the boy's work was becoming increasingly unsatisfactory. The counselor found that the boy was telling others of his problem who likewise were telling him what to do. The student continued on the downgrade scholastically and continued talking about his problem. The teachers became impatient and finally, exasperated by his behavior, said, "No wonder he has problems." They washed their hands of him. They failed to recognize the boy's running-in-circles behavior as a sign of serious maladjustment. They failed to realize that all hands were needed to hold the boy steady until they could put him in the hands of some expert able to help him find the cause of his problems and work out a solution.

Mary's teachers noticed that she had an odd habit of twitching her shoulders when giving an oral report. She never refused to go to the front of a classroom to recite while standing before the group, but she would

stand with hands clenched behind her and with shoulders twitching as she talked. She gave excellent reports, and her voice was good—clear and steady although somewhat low. She acted that way in all her classes—twitched her shoulders when reciting before the group—but was never reluctant, like her sister, to stand before the group to recite. Both girls did all right in school. They lived with their mother; the father was dead. The teachers heard some talk about the mother and a man who worked at the furniture factory; but, being professional people, they showed little interest in such talk. As professional people they should, however, have shown a professional interest in it. They should have considered its significance to the two sisters and its possible effect upon these girls who seemed to find it difficult to stand before their peers.

These students did not go unnoticed by their teachers. The teachers both observed and talked about them. Yet further action was not taken and apparently was not expected; for no teacher ever arose in faculty meeting to ask the group, "What are we going to do about Chuck, Nan, Mary, Tom, Dick, or Harry?" "It is simply not possible," many school people protest, "to consider each student individually." "Besides, it is not necessary," others add. "Most students do not have problems and do not need help. They get along all right on their own. It is the few who interfere with class routine and make it difficult for us to teach whom we must work with. They are the ones who need guidance."

Because most students do not force themselves and their special concerns upon the attention of their teachers, many persons believe that most students are not troubled by special problems. One teacher felt this way about the members of her homeroom group. She was sure that most of them did not have to deal with perplexing questions or situations, that most of them led comparatively untroubled lives. She was challenged to prove her assumptions by establishing working relations with the parents and by maintaining sufficiently strong and cordial relations with the students and their parents so that they would be willing to approach her with almost any type of problem. The teacher made an honest, sincere effort to meet the challenge. She took care not to pry or probe. She tried to be available to the students and to show an interest in them and their affairs; but she was never "nosey," as the students say.

About six months later the teacher reported that most of her homeroom students did have problems and not very small ones. Only three seemed untroubled by some special worry. She found that some students had to cope with serious problems created by broken bones, too limited financial resources, ill health in the family, the father's occupational insecurity, or unsatisfactory living conditions. Others, she thought, had less serious problems to contend with, problems resulting from their failure to live up to family expectations or to their own standards; or they had

only minor problems created by unsatisfactory relations with their peers. The teacher found, however, that some students seemed more troubled by the problems that she classified as "less serious" or "minor" than by the problems that she considered "very serious."

Through a change in attitude and through definite efforts to establish the right kind of relationships with the students and their parents, this homeroom teacher achieved a great deal. She did not have to give much additional time to her homeroom group, but she made better use of her time than she had previously. Teachers often use for less important things much time that can be used for establishing good conversational relations with students and for observing and trying to understand them. Willcutt[1] illustrates this point very well in the following outline which sketches "the beginning of a typical day in the life of two different teachers, the second of whom finds time for listening":

FIRST TEACHER:

What she is saying	What she is doing	What she is thinking
"Good morning, children."	Walking into the room.	Why do some of them always arrive before I do?
"Do be quiet, children. Either take your seats, or run on out to play."	Going to her desk, she sits down and begins to look through her school mail.	If only I could have these few minutes to check these blanks we have to turn in to the office tomorrow!
"John, run along with the other children; I don't have time to talk to you now."	Checking one of the blanks which is to be returned to the school office the next day.	I just can't have John jabbering at me this morning. My head feels as if it were going to start aching any minute.
"Well, if you must tell me about it, go ahead."	Continuing to check the blank.	Maybe I can get all this attended to before the bell rings, if I hurry.
"Do you always go to western movies? I should think you'd like to try a different kind once in a while."	Leafing rapidly through several books to find a suitable one for Mary to use during the first hour.	I suppose he's telling about a western movie. He always does. I'd be bored to death to go to the same type of movies all the time. I should have asked Mary to find her own book, but she would have asked too many questions while she was doing it.

[1] Gladys Willcutt, "Informal Talks with Children and Parents," in *Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools,* pp. 226–227. Washington: National Education Association, 1950.

SECOND TEACHER:

What she is saying	What she is doing	What she is thinking
"Good morning!"	Walking into the room.	John is early again this morning. I wonder if Mary is still concerned about her sister's separation from her husband. I must find out. John is moving in my direction.
"How are you this morning, John?"	Going to her desk, she jots something on her calendar, starts to sort her mail.	I shall pretend to be absorbed in my mail. Maybe Mary will start talking to Jane about her sister. Here's John.
"You nearly always go to western movies, didn't you? You seem to like them best."	Selecting some books from the shelf for her first period class.	The class could get these books themselves, but John always talks more confidently when I appear busy. Mary is talking to Jane.
"You especially liked the horses, didn't you? You'd like one of your own like that one in the movie."	Filling in the date and the homeroom number on the attendance pad.	I wonder if something could be done about John's having some kind of pet. Art isn't teasing Shirley this morning. Oh, I see Jim is showing Art a gadget. Shirley is near Jim, watching him.

While the situation described by Willcutt is one in the elementary school, its duplicate can certainly be found many times over in the high schools.

All students have problems—common problems and special problems—for everyone must deal with difficulties of varying degrees of seriousness. Many students do learn to get along without help and to deal with problems in their own way. At times the ways are good ways; at other times they are not. Even when the ways are good ways, students are not hurt by knowing that their teachers are interested in them and have time to hear them talk about their hopes, plans, and special concerns. While many students will prefer to dive into a problem situation and to swim through it alone, many will find the going easier if they know that someone stands ready to give them a hand if needed. However, under present conditions of guidance provided through groups mainly or wholly, many students may feel that in any problem situation the rule is "sink or swim," that they must make it on their own or be sunk, for no one is free to give them a hand.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

What should be done in the schools to ensure good use of the information gathered through tests, observations, and other analytical and diagnostic techniques? A number of things can be done. Four in particular should be done: (1) provision should be made for every student to receive adequate counseling; (2) case conferences should be held regularly; (3) identification of behavior problems should become a major objective of all teachers; and (4) a definite plan for referral should be developed.

Counselors. In every school certain staff members should be made responsible for maintaining special relations with particular students, and every student should be included in the plan. The faculty member (usually called a "counselor") who is responsible for the guidance of certain students should also be responsible for studying the data gathered on these students and for informing other faculty members of the students' special strengths and needs. Counselors should not only be permitted but also encouraged to place the cases of particular students before the entire faculty for special consideration. The counseling functions of these workers are not considered here but they are discussed in Chaps. 16 and 17.

Case Conferences. Case conferences (sometimes called "clinics") should be arranged for study of certain cases. The conferences should be scheduled regularly, desirably once a week, and held sufficiently often for every teacher to participate in not less than one a month. The chief purpose of the conference is to focus attention upon all students as individuals through special study of some individuals. Ordinarily most participants leave the conference with increased understanding of certain types of behavior and the meaning of such behavior to students.

Case conferences need not be held on all students, but they should be held on enough for all students to become "important cases" to the faculty. They should be held not only on extreme cases—extremely strong or extremely weak—but also upon cases at various points between the extremes. Otherwise, certain groups of students, especially the large middle group, *will be overlooked and neglected; and the purpose of focusing attention on all individuals through study of some will not be achieved.* Unfortunately, the conference technique is relatively little used in the schools, but it is definitely part of the answer to the question "What should be done?" Because the case conference is the subject of Chap. 15, no further consideration is given to it here.

Identification of Problem Behavior and Recognition of Change. Every teacher should consider himself responsible for noting and reporting signs which indicate that all may not be well with a student. Noticeable

changes in a student's behavior, whether for better or for worse, should be reported also. More than one student who has been stimulated to change his ways for the better relapses into his old ways partly, and perhaps largely, because no one seems to notice that he is acting differently and, therefore, treats him differently. Some persons may say that the student should not be dependent upon approval and encouragement; that, if he were not such a weak brother, he would not fall back into his old behavior patterns. Such persons fail to realize that it is because the student is a weak brother that he needs a friendly touch on the elbow and a gentle push forward. It is a pity that some of us are not so much aware of the effectiveness of approval and of a friendly smile as we are of the efficacy of frowns and threats of failing grades and other dire consequences of backsliding. It is during the periods of wavering between old and new ways that students, whether weak brothers or staunch self-reformers, need and are most aided by applause and cheers from the side lines rather than later when they are on the right track, know it, and so feel reasonably sure of themselves.

At times the question is raised as to whom teachers should report symptoms of maladjustment noticed in students. Should reports be made to the student's counselor or to the director of the student personnel program? If there is a guidance specialist or psychologist who serves as the administrative head of the program, the report should eventually reach that person. Desirably, the report should come through the student's counselor if it does not originate with him. Unfortunately, some counselors fail to pass on the information because they feel jealous of their rights, think that all reports on their counselees should be sent to them, and believe that they are the ones to decide what action should follow, if any. Some counselors are not qualified, however, to handle all problem cases alone; and so all such reports should ultimately be sent to the chairman or director of the program even though additional action on the part of anyone other than the counselor may not be indicated.

A professionally trained director will respect the rights of the counselor and will gladly leave to him full handling of a case as far as possible, but he will not hesitate to initiate action by himself or by others if the student's welfare seems to require it. Because some counselors do not always understand the meaning of student behavior and at times do not realize the seriousness of a case, a counselor should report to the director of the guidance program any symptoms of maladjustment in students noted by him or reported to him by others. If the report is made directly to the chairman or director, he will ordinarily share the information with the counselor of the student concerned.

Referral. A definite plan should be developed for referral of students to specialists within the school system and for securing from nonschool

agencies the special services needed by some students but not supplied by the school or in the school system. County and state health services, for example, should be utilized as far as possible for both preventive and corrective purposes. Sometimes arrangements may be made with local hospitals for certain types of clinical services to be supplied students without charge or at a nominal cost. If psychiatric service is not available through the schools, arrangements for the service should be made through some reliable community clinic or nearby state hospital. If such arrangements are not possible, help should be sought from the state mental hygiene association or the state department of public health. If information cannot be obtained from some state department or state association regarding a reliable source of aid, assistance may be sought from the National Association for Mental Health or the United States Department of Health.

Referral arrangements should be planned in advance of the time of need for special help. Otherwise, the assistance may not be secured in time or to the extent needed. It should be the responsibility of the administrator of the guidance program to become informed regarding local, state, and national agencies which offer services that may be used to supplement those provided through the school. Working relations with these agencies should be established as early as possible.

At times students may not be served by the agent or agency best able to help them because of their parents' inability to pay certain fees. Hence, the referral plan should include some scheme for securing the funds needed in special instances. Assistance is often provided by some service club, and in some schools funds for special use are established and maintained through individual donations by interested citizens. Needless to say, financial assistance should never be given to a student in a way that may hurt his self-esteem. Aid should not be rendered to a young person as an act of charity on the part of some Lord or Lady Bountiful. It should be given quietly and with as little publicity as possible.

Even in small schools referral should always be made in writing. Oral reports may be forgotten or not acted upon soon enough. When referral is to be made to a staff member of the same school, the referral form need not be elaborate. All records on the student are available to the person to whom the case is referred, and supplementary oral reports are easily obtained from the person who makes the referral. The more simple the referral form is the more likely the teachers are to use it. The form may well be of the memorandum type (To_____ From_____ Regarding_____ Reason for referral_____) with sufficient space provided for a statement of the problem.

Some teachers are reluctant to use forms that require them to give detailed statements regarding the problem because they are afraid that they

DATE	GRADE	TEST	CH. AGE	MENT. AGE	INDEX	XA GP	READING GP VOC.	COMP.	ARITH GP REAS.	FUND.	LANG. GP	SPELL. GP	

4. Record of Scholastic Capacity & Educational Achievement (copy latest test data from cum card):

5A. Any health data you may have

B. Please list other clinics, hospitals, agencies, doctors, etc. to whom child and family are known

6. Any social or family data you may already have (home calls and social history not essential)

7. Signature of Principal _____

Name of person who conferred with parent around referral

_____

Names of others concerned with child's problem

_____

Fig. 16. *(Continued)*

person who makes the referral. This type of form is illustrated by the one used in the Los Angeles Parent-Teacher School Guidance Center, which is shown in Figure 16.

SOME CAUSES

Every normal individual meets frustrations, suffers conflicts, and experiences minor maladjustments. The minor maladjustments sometimes develop into major ones. Both minor and major maladjustments stem from the same causes—frustration of one or more of the basic personality needs or from conflict of needs. Hence, to understand both normal and

abnormal behavior, one must understand the motivating forces or fundamental needs that lead an individual to act as he does. Behavior can then be seen as adjustment, and the quality of the behavior can be judged in terms of its adjustive value to the acting individual.

Factors Motivating Behavior

While some writers, notably the followers of Freud and Adler, explain all behavior in terms of one driving force or causal factor—the sex urge or the need for mastery—most hold a pluralistic point of view and explain behavior in terms of a number of factors. While the writers do not agree completely regarding the classifications and the use of certain terms, such as "drive," "want," "motive," "need," and the like, their classifications and use do not differ greatly. The term "needs" is the one which seems to be used most frequently for describing the factors that motivate behavior, and the needs are generally grouped into two broad categories—physiological and social.

The physiological needs include need for the materials and conditions essential to maintenance of health and need for sex adjustment. Teachers should try to ascertain how well their students' health needs are being met. Observations and inquiries should, of course, be made with tact, judgment, and the proper reserve.

Most teachers know that a hungry or sick student cannot do very well in his school work, but they do not always know when sickness or hunger is the cause of unsatisfactory school work. Because most students eat breakfast before coming to school, it cannot be assumed that all do. Neither can it be assumed that a child coming from a home of limited means has breakfasted less well than the one from a "rich home." The food needs of the rich family's son may be met less well than those of the boy from the not-rich home. Furthermore, many teachers are less likely to recognize the effect of a continuous disability or chronic condition upon a student's personality and school achievement than the effect of some short and, perhaps, not severe illness. They may, for example, be more patient and understanding with the student who displays sullenness or excessive irritability after being sick for a few days with a bad cold than they are with the student who is an endocrine case and displays the same type of behavior. They are less aware of the physiological cause of the behavior in one case than in the other, and consequently they show less understanding in one case than in the other.

Prescott[2] stresses in his discussion of the health needs the need for a rhythm of activity and rest. Elementary-school teachers are, in general,

[2] D. A. Prescott, chairman, *Emotion and the Educative Process*, p. 115. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938.

more attentive to this need than high-school teachers, probably because failure to observe the need is more likely to result in fretfulness, irritability, quarrelsomeness, and temper outbursts on the part of elementary-school children than on the part of high-school students. Although high-school teachers usually consider this need when they help a student to plan his daily schedule, they frequently overlook it when they help to plan the activity program for the semester or the year. Often too many activities are scheduled for one week or one month or one semester.

In one senior high school, for example, some juniors and seniors do not look forward to the spring semester with the same enthusiasm as the sophomores. Having gone through it once or twice, they dread the strain of going through it again. They find the fall activity schedule bad enough with its heavy program of competitive sport events, plays, and special Thanksgiving and Christmas events; but only a limited number of students participate in the sports program. All students are not caught in the whirl of activities and excitement. In the spring term, however, one "all-school event" follows another with very little time between them for the students to recover from the preceding one. All loyal school citizens are expected to participate with vim and vigor in order to make each event "bigger and better" than ever before, and at the same time they are expected to meet the high scholastic standards for which the school is well known.

Between such all-school events as the school fair, the spring pageant, the annual open-house and exhibit week, and the May Day program are scheduled a number of "drives," the concerts of the band and two glee clubs, and the Hi-Y minstrel show. By the middle of May both students and teachers are showing definite signs of strain. The poor seniors still have ahead of them their class play and commencement activities along with college-admission examinations for some and final examinations for all. The students' need for a rhythm of activity and rest seems almost completely disregarded in this situation. And, of course, the teachers are frustrated to an almost equal degree. Some teachers and some students find themselves pushed almost beyond endurance in trying to fulfill their special obligations with regard to the activity program.

Because of the many taboos, sex is the physiological need most frequently frustrated in our culture and for adolescents in particular. Teachers should help boys and girls to satisfy their normal urge to shift from emotional attachment to close friends of the same sex to social and emotional relationships with members of the opposite sex. They can help by taking care to show the right attitudes of understanding and acceptance (by not teasing, ridiculing, or describing as undesirable or unwholesome the normal, desirable boy-girl affairs), by trying to provide sufficient op-

portunity for boys and girls to socialize together, and by utilizing fully all curricular opportunities for giving the students frank and positive sex guidance and family-life education.

Some students suffer keenly from fears associated with sex. By displaying the correct attitudes and by giving correct information, teachers can help to decrease the sex-associated fears that harass some students. On the other hand, such fears may be aggravated or even created by the attitudes and words of parents or teachers who use threats of disease and feeblemindedness as means for frightening young people into "behaving themselves." Fear is a disintegrating emotion; and, if fear becomes too strong, it produces a neurosis. Occasionally the fears caused by conflicts over sex drives and by violations of the sex taboos lead a young person to schizophrenia or suicide.

Foremost among the social and personal needs are the needs for affection and security; for feelings of competency, self-reliance, and mastery or achievement; for a feeling of belonging and of being like others; for status and recognition in the group; for a sense of personal worth and self-esteem; for a chance to experience curiosity and to develop varied and satisfying interests; for a philosophy of life and a sense of conformity and consistency in terms of that philosophy; and a need to accept the conditions (the realities) of one's life.

Much undesirable behavior among students results from the student's efforts to meet their social needs. A student may cheat in his school work, for example, because he fears that, if he does not receive the good marks expected by a parent, he will lose the parent's love or because he fears that a low mark will mean loss of status in the family and that he will be loved less well than some brother or sister who is more able scholastically than he. Similarly, impudence, lying, stealing, destroying property, hurting others, and other such symptoms of delinquency may be a student's means of gaining recognition and status in his peer group. If the student belongs to a certain social class, such behavior may also be the means of gaining and maintaining status in the family. Likewise, some boys and girls who commonly fail in their school work or who find it difficult to keep up in ways other than academic because of physical deformity or lack of general or special ability or because of some unfortunate condition, such as poverty, may try to satisfy their need for self-esteem through excessive daydreaming. In the daydreams they enjoy the success and recognition not enjoyed in the world of reality.

The needs are closely related. Actually they are interdependent and interactive. Satisfaction of the need for nutrition may involve, for example, more than satisfaction of a physiological need. A mother, for instance, in seeing that her son has a good breakfast before he leaves for school, is meeting the boy's need for affection and security as well as his

need for food. Furthermore, in serving him the breakfast food currently rated by the members of his gang as being the best source of strength and vitality, she helps him to satisfy his need to be like the other members. Also, in not serving him bacon with his egg on certain days in accordance with the teachings of his church, she contributes to the satisfaction of her son's needs for conformity and consistency. Thus the factors of physiology, love, peer standards, group culture, and religion are involved in this single incident.

Frustration

Some Sources. While all persons have the same basic needs, individuals differ in the degree of satisfaction required for certain needs and in their ability to endure frustration (being prevented from satisfying some want or need). A boy with a low rate of physical energy, for example, may not give way to frustration as quickly as one with a high energy rate. Furthermore, the person who has found a reasonable degree of satisfaction for most of his needs is able to tolerate frustration much better than the one who has experienced frustration more often than satisfaction and, consequently, has accumulated an explosive amount of resentment.

Too severe frustration may be produced by such causes as physical difficulties and deformities (paralysis, defective vision or hearing, deformed hand, severe acne, ugliness, etc.); homes broken by voluntary or involuntary separation of parents, divorce, or death; family conflicts; shame because of some family member's failure to conform to the laws or the mores; lack of ability to succeed in school; unsympathetic and not-understanding parents; unsympathetic and not-understanding teachers, especially when parents are also not sympathetic and understanding.

For some students the school is a source of serious frustration. The conventional school, as Shaffer[2] says, *in many ways thwarts the students' needs and becomes a destructive influence, whereas it should be an "integrating and adjusting one."* Setting standards that are impossibly high for some students, emphasizing examination results and promotions as ends in themselves, inconsistently making and applying rules and regulations, supervising too closely or not at all, making sarcastic remarks about a student's low scholastic ability, displaying a member's inferior work to the group, calling attention to characteristics whereby one student differs unfavorably from the others, and making other comments that cause students to lose status are only a few of the ways in which teachers thwart students' basic needs.

If a student finds school conditions very frustrating, he may withdraw as soon as he is able. Not all students who withdraw do so because they

[2] L. F. Shaffer, *The Psychology of Adjustment*, p. 501. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936.

find it too difficult to maintain the school marks expected by teachers and parents. Some withdraw because they find it too difficult to maintain social status. At times the difficulty is created by the "hidden costs of education." Books are supplied by the state; so every student has enough books. Some items are not supplied, but all students are expected to have the same kind. The "regulation gym suit," for example, may be such an item. If a student's parents cannot or will not pay for the special gym suit, the student may be allowed to wear shorts and a T shirt; but directly or indirectly pressure is brought upon all students to purchase the kind of uniform prescribed by the teacher. This is only one item. When, however, its cost is added to the cost of an activity ticket, of the "current events paper," of the school newspaper, lunches, and of contributions to the various funds which one must support in order that his homeroom or class group may have a record of 100 per cent, the sum total is no small amount. At least it is not small for many students, and for some it is too great. Not being able to meet the cost of being like other students, some boys and girls withdraw from school to earn the money needed for doing what others of their age are doing outside the school.

Some Effects. The individual who is too severely frustrated becomes so confused that he is not able to work out adequate ways for attaining satisfaction of his basic needs. He cannot see in the possibilities for action a choice that will lead to his goal, and so he behaves in a noooriented fashion. He resorts to frustrated behavior, which, as Segel[*] says, is terminal behavior—an end in itself rather than a means to an end. Although the behavior does not serve any purpose in terms of need satisfaction, it may provide the individual some relief from the tension created by frustration. He may resort to the behavior because of the satisfaction found in the behavior itself, not because it contributes to the achievement of some goal.

As long as behavior is directed toward meeting some need, it is goal-oriented even though it may not be socially approved. When, for example, a boy steals in order to pay a membership fee or to buy play equipment, clothes, or something else that he considers necessary for belonging to a group or for maintaining his status in the group, he is not displaying frustrated behavior because his behavior is oriented to his goal. On the other hand, stealing is frustrated behavior, instead of goal-oriented behavior, when a boy steals money, not in order to get the money needed for meeting some need or want, but because he is confused and unhappy. He may be able to get money from his parents easily enough; but he does not seem able to get love and approval from them (or from

[*] David Segel, *Frustration in Adolescent Youth,* U.S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1951, No. 1, p. 25. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951.

anyone else, perhaps) no matter how hard he tries. In his frustration he takes from others even though what he takes is not what he wants. His behavior is not tied to satisfaction of his need.

While severely frustrated persons react in many ways, they tend, as Segel[5] points out, to follow behavior that can be roughly grouped into three types—aggression, regression, and fixation. The aggressive individual is often able to find some relief from tension through his highly active behavior, and at times he may accidentally gain recognition or attention through his aggressive behavior, but the behavior is not directed toward the end accidentally achieved. Regressive behavior is withdrawal behavior. Feeling defeated, the individual no longer tries to attain his goals but withdraws from the struggle. Fixated behavior is stereotyped behavior. The individual repeatedly behaves in some particular way even though the behavior is clearly of no value to him for achieving his goal and may even be lessening the possibility of his ever attaining it.

Many severely frustrated youngsters become so aggressive that they are considered delinquent or strongly predelinquent and placed in a treatment home or in some other institution where, let us hope, treatment rather than confinement is the objective. Studies made of such youngsters invariably reveal the great gaps in their lives produced by a lack of the protection, love, encouragement, and understanding normally had by children from their parents, or the adults taking the place of parents, and a lack of satisfying group experiences. Redl and Wineman,[6] for example, in one report on their extensive work with excessively aggressive preadolescent boys list the following as "the basic missing links" in the lives of such children:

1. Factors leading to identification with adults, feeling of being loved and wanted, and encouragement to accept values and standards of the adult world.
2. Opportunities for and help in achieving a gratifying recreational pattern.
3. Opportunities for adequate peer relationship.
4. Opportunities for making community ties, establishing a feeling of being rooted somewhere where one belongs, where other people besides your parents know you and like you.
5. Ongoing family structures which are not in some phase of disintegration at almost any given time in their lives.
6. Adequate economic security for some of the basic needs and necessities of life.

Life piled up on these children until they found themselves unable to attain to even a minimum degree satisfaction of their basic needs. Frus-

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 25–28.
[6] Fritz Redl and David Wineman, *Controls from Within*, p. 326. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952.

trated beyond endurance, they became "children who hate" and in their hate became intolerably aggressive. They were, as Redl and Wineman say, "tough guys" in the making.

SOME SYMPTOMS

The distinction between normal and abnormal behavior is not always clear. Many normal people are subject to the same kinds of deviations as are abnormal people, the chief difference being that the normal person suffers a less extensive and less severe involvement than the abnormal person. Put more concisely, mental illness is principally a matter of degree. The neurotic and the psychotic, as Young[7] says, "are not a species, distinct from ourselves. In one sense the patients in mental hospitals and sanitoria are just like ourselves *only more so.*"

Normality is a relative thing. Behavior that is normal for a little child may be abnormal for a fourteen-year-old. Behavior that is not unusual for a sick person or for one who is not very intelligent may be considered very unusual on the part of a healthy intelligent person. Moreover, the kinds of symptoms by which an individual reveals his disturbances are determined largely by the social or cultural environment. Therefore, behavior that is held normal in one culture may be considered abnormal in another. Members of a certain social group, for example, frequently show their affection by pommeling and cursing each other. This type of behavior on the part of a student from such a group is not indicative of maladjustment, but such behavior on the part of another student may indicate that all is not well with him. Or it may only mean that he has made friends with "the kids from the other side of town," likes them, and is trying to act as they do so that they will like him. The signs can be read in different ways. Only when read as part of the whole story can their right meanings be determined.

Normal persons suffer from minor mental deviations and reveal minor maladjustments through the same symptoms that are shown by the definitely pathological types—the criminal, the mentally defective, the psychotic (one with a major form of mental disease), or the neurotic (one subject to some serious nervous malady). Under such circumstances, we must be cautious in interpreting the signs. We must not interpret symptoms of minor deviations as evidence of serious abnormality or of incipient mental disease.

The same causes may produce different symptoms in different individuals. One student may stutter in the presence of some person of high authority, whereas another may be unable to speak at all because of paral-

[7] Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*, p. 758. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940. Used by permission of the publishers.

ysis (loss of power of voluntary movement) or amnesia (loss of memory). Also, we must remember that the symptom or behavior is a function of the whole student. The first student, for example, may not stutter when he feels confident and at ease but may stutter very badly when he feels tense and fearful.

From the foregoing statements it is clear that it is not possible to present a list of symptoms that are always indicative of maladjustment. All that we can do is to point to certain symptoms as being at times possible indicators of maladjustment. Even though the symptoms may be signs of only transitory and minor maladjustments, they should be noted and the student's possible need for help investigated. Unfortunately, some teachers see certain symptoms displayed by students so frequently that they accept them as inevitable and do not question their significance. All signs should be read, for some may be danger signs.

The most easily read symptoms are those of aggression. They include truancy, stealing, destroying property, hurting others, cheating, lying, resistance to authority, temper tantrums, refusal to cooperate, other forms of unruly behavior, and failure to learn in keeping with ability to learn.

Much less easy to detect than the above-named symptoms are daydreaming (some daydreaming, however, is both normal and desirable); extreme sensitiveness; great timidity; and fears expressed through obsessions, compulsions, phobias, inhibitions, anxieties, and worries.

Not difficult to detect but often unnoticed are the signs which indicate that a student has developed a low opinion of his own worth and is suffering from feelings of inferiority and insecurity. Such symptoms include insatiable craving for affection, self-centeredness, and seclusiveness. A student may be showing that he is socially and emotionally immature; or he may be revealing his doubt regarding his personal worth when he is too docile and too easily rebuked, when he shows that he is very much afraid of not being wanted, or when he asks too frequently for advice, instructions, or confirmation.

Nervous habits that are observed or reported observed by others should be considered for their possible implications in terms of physical and mental health. These indicators include stuttering, facial tics and other muscle twitching, fingernail biting, thumb sucking, excessive restlessness while sitting, chronic fatigue, dizzy spells, frequent headaches, eyestrain, sleeplessness, walking or talking while asleep. Such symptoms may be produced by physical causes or may be the student's reactions to some intolerable condition. In either case he needs assistance.

Some teachers are more disturbed by one student's overt misbehavior than by another's withdrawal behavior, whereas the latter may be a sign of more serious maladjustment than the first. The misbehavior may be an outcome of the student's efforts to adjust to some frustrating situation.

If the behavior has adjustive value to him, it is not altogether undesirable. The withdrawal behavior, however, indicates that the student is not trying to solve his problem, that he has given up in defeat. The teacher who holds a concept of behavior as adjustment sees unruly behavior as evidence of a student's adjustment needs rather than as evidence of his need for "discipline" interpreted as punishment. While the understanding teacher does not condone the misbehavior, neither does he blame the student. He tries to ascertain the cause and, if possible, to remove or change the undesirable condition producing the undesirable behavior. If the condition cannot be changed, he tries to help the student to make a better adjustment to the situation.

Torgerson's check list or behavior inventory, which was referred to in the preceding chapter, is useful for helping teachers to identify symptoms of withdrawal behavior, as well as those of aggression. In the section under "social behavior" 50 items are listed, of which the first 25 reflect aggressive behavior and the second 25 recessive or withdrawal behavior. These items are as follows:[*]

1. Angers easily	26. Overconscientious
2. Temper tantrums	27. Emotionally inadequate
3. Uncooperative	28. Procrastinates
4. Sex irregularities	29. Whines
5. Uncontrolled bladder or bowels	30. Pessimistic
6. Enuresis (bed wetting)	31. Suspicious
7. Truancy, unexcused absences	32. Plays by himself
8. Cheats	33. Avoids others, unfriendly
9. Resents correction	34. Shunned by others
10. Destructive	35. Over-religious
11. Overcritical of others	36. Daydreams, preoccupied
12. Irresponsible	37. Plays with younger children
13. Impudent, defiant	38. Physical coward
14. Quarrelsome	39. Selfish
15. Cruel to animals	40. Feigns illness
16. Irritable	41. Too impulsive
17. Belligerent, bossy	42. Depressed
18. Bully	43. Overdependent
19. Vindictive	44. Sullen
20. Steals	45. Nervous tensions, tics
21. Dishonest, untruthful	46. Bites fingernails
22. Marked change in personality	47. Fearful, timid, shy
23. Negativistic	48. Worries
24. Runs away from home	49. Jealous
25. Seeks attention	50. Cries easily

[*] Theodore L. Torgerson, *Studying Children: Diagnostic and Remedial Procedures in Teaching,* pp. 70–75. New York: The Dryden Press, Inc., 1947.

PREVENTION AND TREATMENT

Obviously it is better to prevent the development of frustrated behavior than to have to rehabilitate seriously frustrated individuals. While all is not as it should be, much is being done in the schools today in the way of earnest efforts to help students attain adequate satisfaction of their basic needs. It is now recognized, for example, that it is natural for boys and girls to want new experiences, to seek excitement and adventure, to be influenced by their gangs; and much is being done to help boys and girls meet their social needs in a legitimate way. Many schools permit their recreational facilities to be used evenings and week ends, sponsor camp outings and even maintain school camps, cooperate in community recreation programs for people of all ages, and make it possible for teachers to help set up and carry out such programs.

Undue suppression of emotions may lead to frustrated behavior. Many teachers try to help students understand their feelings and attitudes so that they may learn both how to express their feelings and how to control them. They try to establish and maintain a school climate that makes it easy for students to participate freely in various types of activities and that provides an opportunity for free expression of feelings.

The treatment of maladjusted students involves two steps—identification and rehabilitation. The "identification of problems, followed by appropriate therapy, is" as Torgerson* says, "a major responsibility which no conscientious teacher can avoid." The techniques used for identifying behavior problems (personality inventories and observation techniques) have been considered in the preceding chapters. The chief value of personality inventories, we noted, is their usefulness for screening students with serious personality or adjustment problems. Anecdotal records and rating scales and detection of behavior problems, especially when use is directed specifically toward this end.

The rehabilitation of the seriously maladjusted student may involve counseling of the type generally described as nondirective or client-centered.[10] This type of counseling involves helping the individual to express his feelings fully so that he may gain release from tension and confusion, see and accept himself as he really is, understand how he feels, what he wants, and why he acts as he does in order that he may achieve a clear understanding of his life situation and perceive the decisions that he must make and the steps that he must take to attain his goals.

Reference has already been made to Redl and Wineman's study of the

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* *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[10] Nondirective counseling procedures are summarized in Chap. 16.

pathology of aggressive children. In their *Children Who Hate*[11] these authors explore the breakdown in behavioral controls and the development of aggressive behavior in such children. In a follow-up volume, *Controls from Within*,[12] they describe the procedures used with a group of such children for securing growth of well-internalized behavioral controls. Although the comprehensive treatment program that they outline is one of residential therapy, the techniques that they present for constructing a treatment climate in the residential situation may be applied, in part at least, in constructing a school climate that is good for "normal" children as well as for the seriously disturbed ones.

All students need to find in the school environment some features stressed by Redl and Wineman in their discussion, such features as the following: (1) a friendly, permissive atmosphere, furnishings designed for use rather than for show, and space arrangements that permit different groups to engage in different kinds of activities at the same time and within easy range of an adult who is a "natural marginal figure" rather than a supervisor checking up on mischief; (2) flexible routines that are appraised for their effect upon individuals and upon group morale as well as for their administrative efficiency; (3) activity programs that are realistic because they are in harmony with the participants' sociological framework (in keeping with their taste patterns), are challenging because they expose the participants to activities that progressively help them to gain satisfaction from sublimated outlets (matching strength in games of skill comes to replace matching strength in fist fights), and are protective because the satisfaction potentialities are sufficient for frustration to be avoided or to be present in only tolerable amounts; (4) adults who provide the restrictions and interference needed to protect participants from fear of lack of self-control, from fear of others, and from fear of extreme situations, such as the mob outburst situation in which the whole group gets out of control.

If the school environment is to have therapeutic value for seriously disturbed students, it must also provide other features: (1) tolerance of symptoms—adults interfere with problem behavior in such a way that a restrained child perceives the adults' attitude to be one of "We like you, we take you the way you are, but of course in the long run we want you to change"; (2) a "rich flow of tax-free love" and gratifying group experiences whether deserved or not; (3) some leeway for escape from the group through a private relationship with an adult (by helping the adult, for example, or by simply loafing near him); (4) freedom from physical

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[11] Fritz Redl and David Wineman, *Children Who Hate*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951.

[12] Redl and Wineman, *Controls from Within*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952.

punishment or any other form of traumatic handling; (5) group emotional securities created through cultivation of "we feelings," protection of subgroup ties, development of emotional tie-up with group symbols (names, colors, badges, etc.), and use of the depersonalized controls of the natural group codes (game rules, neighborhood codes, behavior customs, etc.); (5) small flexible groups, ample supplies, and sufficient personnel for emergency help.

In discussing the treatment process, Redl and Wineman describe two sets of techniques—techniques for influencing surface behavior and techniques for influencing the pathology of the child. The latter are the tools of the clinician and should be used only by workers trained in their use.

The techniques outlined for dealing with the surface behavior of highly disturbed children do not include some techniques commonly used by teachers—promises and rewards, threats and punishment; for Redl and Wineman find these techniques nearly unusable with the children that they work with. The usable techniques include some often used by teachers, such as forbidding, removal of child from the situation, and physical restraint, but not as they are frequently employed in the schools. Authoritative forbidding is considered an interim stopgap only and a technique that must be "followed and surrounded" by other techniques. Removal of a child should be "hygienic bouncing," the worker taking care then or later to help the child understand that, in removing him from the group, he only seeks to stop behavior that cannot be stopped otherwise or to help the child avoid worse behavior. Similarly, the child who displays a total loss of self-control may have to be restrained physically until he quiets down; but it should not be a punitive act. The child is not responsible during his wild outburst; and so his behavior should not be taken seriously, as would be done were punishment, blame, encouragement, promises, threats, and the like used.

Certain simple techniques have an important advantage in that they can be used quietly and without interfering with group activity or attracting much attention to the child or his behavior. These techniques include (1) ignoring tolerable misbehavior adopted by the child to discharge tension or to provoke aggression from the adult; (2) interfering through a signal that brings the child's own controls into operation; (3) moving near the child to help him avoid wrong behavior; (4) displaying interest in the child's activity to help him cope with a new or difficult situation or to help him change an illegitimate activity into a legitimate one; (5) taking time to interpret a situation that the child has misinterpreted; (6) reducing tension by reacting humorously to the situation; (7) making a friendly direct appeal for cooperation and consideration; (8) restructuring the situation through a change in grouping or in ac-

tivity when the children show signs of needing such a change; and (9) assisting the child through actual help when his difficulties are creating too much pressure.

Each of these techniques for manipulating surface behavior has some special advantage, but none is effective with all students or under all conditions. Moreover, they are ordinarily more effective when used in combination than when used separately. Redl and Wineman do not present these techniques as means for correcting any behavior that is basically an expression of serious confusion or severe conflict. They do not offer them as answers to educational and therapeutic problems but only as a few concrete possibilities to have in mind "in moments of 'interference emergency.'" It seems to them "that a 'pharmacology' of hygienic interference techniques would be a better answer for both the clinician and the educator than the customary mixture of 'therapeutic ideals' watered down by the crude mistakes which occur as 'last resort measures because of the hard facts of life.'"[13]

To close this chapter on a positive note, attention is called to two generalizations—one by Rosanoff[14] and the other by Loutitt.[15] Rosanoff defined the normal individual as one characterized by inhibitions, emotional control, rational balance, and nervous stability. And Loutitt states that for development of stable personality, a delicate balance between security, independence, and guidance must be maintained in the home and the school. Generalizations are, however, of little value unless the specifics underlying them are understood. The books listed below as references for this chapter deal in the main with the specifics that support these generalizations of Rosanoff and Loutitt.

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 245.
[14] A. J. Rosanoff, *Manual of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene*, 7th ed., p. 663. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1938.
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Self-reports: The Personal Data Blank

In the final analysis, the student is the source of the information secured about him through tests; and so broadly interpreted the term "self-reports" covers some procedures previously considered. Here, however, discussion is limited to certain procedures used for securing reports written by the student in which he gives information about himself or appraises himself or evaluates some of his school experiences. Included in the discussion are the questionnaire, certain self-rating or self-inventory procedures, and some direct expressive material, such as compositions, that yield autobiographical data.

Certain instruments discussed in the chapters on tests, such as the inventories designed for studying interests and personality traits, are questionnaires rather than tests if we accept Symonds's[1] method of differentiating the two. In a test, he states, the issue is whether a person can answer the questions, whereas in a questionnaire it is whether he will answer truthfully. The author of a test tries to make the questions sufficiently difficult to reveal the ability of the person taking the test, whereas the author of a questionnaire tries to make the questions so simple and easy that the respondent will understand and answer truthfully.

Further consideration will not be given in this chapter to the standardized questionnaire designed to measure interests, attitudes, and personality characteristics. In this and the following chapter we are concerned with (1) the questionnaire used to secure from the student information about his background and his plans for the future; (2) the evaluation questionnaire used to learn the student's reactions to instructional methods, course offerings, activity program, guidance services, and the like; and (3) the follow-up questionnaire in which the former student reports on his postschool life and appraises the effectiveness of the school program in preparing him for his postschool life. Although the information obtained from these questionnaires is used along with data from other sources in studying and counseling individual students, these

[1] P. M. Symonds, *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct*, p. 122. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1931.

questionnaires are employed mainly for obtaining factual information and for ascertaining a student's opinion of himself and his school experiences rather than for making a scientific study of his personality.

The personal data blank is the questionnaire used for securing from students information with respect to such items as identifying data and information about the home (name and age of student; home address and telephone number; names, occupations, and business addresses of parents or guardians; names and ages of brothers and sisters; other persons living in the home); health; educational and vocational plans; most-liked and least-liked subjects; work experience; special interests and free-time activities; and experiences of special significance.

A USEFUL INSTRUMENT

Some Uses. The personal data blank is used mainly for (1) obtaining background information on new students, (2) bringing up to date certain factual information, and (3) securing some of the background information needed in providing a special service or in providing counseling through some special division of the school or school system. The chief advantage of using this type of questionnaire is that it is an easy way to obtain a great deal of information in a relatively short time. Ordinarily filling out the form requires no more than an hour, and it can be done by a number of persons at the same time.

Some counselors or advisers have all new students assigned to them fill out a personal data form shortly after their entrance into the school in order to secure immediately some background information on these students. The students' cumulative records from the schools previously attended are not always available. Even when the cumulative records are available, it may be a month or more before they are received or the information is posted on the cumulative record cards or filed in the cumulative record folders to be kept by the new school on these students. In the meantime information may be needed at a time when it is not easy or desirable to ask the student for it. To use an illustration from Froehlich and Darley:[a] A teacher needs information about a student's home, but he does not wish to question the boy because he has read in the newspaper that his parents have been recently divorced. If the boy has filled out a personal data blank, the teacher can obtain the information from it and avoid making the boy uncomfortable by asking him about his home at this time.

When, however, a student has been in the school as long as a semester, the teacher should be able to secure such information from the boy's

[a] C. P. Froehlich and J. G. Darley, *Studying Students*, p. 154. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1952.

cumulative record. Eventually the cumulative record should contain comprehensive, reliable information obtained on the boy from a number of sources, of which the personal data blank is only one. The questionnaire can be used as a supplement to the cumulative record but should not be used as a substitute for it.

Some schools use the questionnaire as the principal means for securing background information on new students. Many school people do not consider it practicable, especially in large schools, to try to obtain this information through some other procedure, such as the interview. Actually it is hardly possible if a counselor is assigned from 100 to 300 new students, as is often the case. Even when the number of new students assigned to a counselor is as small as 75, it is difficult for the counselor to get acquainted with all of them before the close of the first month. Under such conditions, the questionnaire may be the only technique that is feasible for securing background information from a large number of new students.

For survey purposes the information obtained through the personal data blank administered to large groups is, perhaps, sufficiently valid and reliable; for by the law of averages errors tend to neutralize one another. As Symonds[3] says "The average of a large number of answers possesses considerable validity; for, statistically speaking, the reliability of the average may be increased by increasing the number of individuals canvassed." When the questionnaire is used with a very large number of students, the validity for the total group may not be low; but for many individuals the results may have little validity. If in using the questionnaire the worker is seeking information for use in the guidance of individual students, then administering the questionnaire in the large group situation is not a good guidance procedure. Guidance workers are concerned with getting correct reports on individuals rather than with finding the "average of a large number of answers." Moreover, they must be, as Rothney and Roens[4] caution, "aware of the danger of being misled by common generalizations which tend to make them think in terms of *group* characteristics at the time that they should be concerned about *particular* characteristics of the individual with whom they are to work."

If the counselor or teacher-counselor is able to hold conferences periodically with each of the students for whose guidance he is responsible and if he does not have so many students that he cannot maintain contact with each one through casual conversations and observations as well as through conferences with them and with others, such as parents and teachers, he can then obtain information that is vastly superior in

[3] Symonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–153.
[4] John W. M. Rothney and Bert A. Roens, *Counseling the Individual Student*, p. 86. New York: The Dryden Press, Inc., 1949.

quantity, quality, and relevancy to the information ordinarily obtainable ✓ from a questionnaire. Under such conditions the questionnaire would not have to be used as a substitute for the interview, but neither would it be discarded. It could be used advantageously for securing valuable additional information and useful verifying data. If rapport is good between the student and the person who administers the questionnaire and if the questionnaire is carefully planned and well constructed, straightforward full answers may be expected from most students. And, if rapport is good between a student and his counselor, the inaccurate, incomplete *responses will usually be detected; and in time the corrections will* be made and the gaps filled in.

A personal data blank is often used for checking the accuracy of certain information items and for bringing them up to date. The blank can be so constructed that the responses given by a student over a period of several years are made on the same blank. Such an arrangement increases the usefulness of the blank for the worker, especially during conferences or interviews with the student and others; and it helps the student to fill out the form correctly. *He does not wonder, for instance, what answers he gave the previous time or where he started taking part in some activity before or after the last time he filled out the form.* This type of questionnaire is used at the Dorsey High School in Los Angeles and is shown in Figure 17.

Questionnaires are commonly used by workers in providing some special service or in providing service through some special division of the school or school system. A detailed questionnaire is used, for example, at the Student Counseling Bureau of the University of Minnesota. The form used there provides considerable information about the student's background, his present activities, and his plans for the future, and also yields important evidence regarding the student's attitudes toward himself, his plans, and his situation. Some understanding of how this questionnaire and the findings are used in counseling can be obtained by studying the case records contained in Williamson's *Counseling Adolescents.*[2] Most of the case records given in the appendix of this book include the filled-in questionnaires.

Some personal data blanks include check lists of problems designed to show the types of problems disturbing the students and to screen the students in need of special help. As stated in Chap. 4, perhaps the chief advantage gained from the use of problem lists, whether standardized or teacher-made, is their usefulness for increasing the teachers' understanding of the problems that students must deal with. This usefulness, however, is dependent upon the insight and the frankness of the students.

[2] E. G. Williamson, *Counseling Adolescents,* pp. 283–536. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950.

NAME...
         Last   First   Middle

Birthdate....................Birthplace...............................
Address...Telephone No...........
Resides with...
Course.................................Major..........................
HEALTH: Robust ...., average ...., frail ...., recent illness?.........
Physical handicap (vision ...., hearing ...., heart ...., asthma ...., etc.).......
What are you planning as your life occupation?.........................
What are your plans after high school? University, Junior College, Trade
     or Special Schools, Work, others?..............................
What is your favorite subject in school?...............................
What subject do you like the least?....................................
How much time do you spend daily on your home work?..................
What are your special talents or abilities? Instrument ...., voice ...., drama ....,
     dancing ...., art ..... (Name talents)..........................
What skills do you have? (In shopwork, home economics, crafts, etc.).....
What kind of lessons do you take outside of school?....................
How much time do you spend on these outside lessons daily?............
What are your favorite sports?...
In which school sports do you participate?.............................
In which "out of school" sports do you participate?....................
What do you do with your spare time?..................................
What are your hobbies?...
What is your favorite type of book?....................................
What is your favorite type of movie?...................................
What is your favorite type of radio program?..........................
What responsibilities do you have at home?............................
Are you working now? (Week-ends ...., vacation ...., after school ....)...
What kind of work do you do?..
How much did you earn last year?......................................
To what out of school organizations do you belong? (Scouts ...., "Y" ....,
     Church groups ..., etc.).......................................
In what school activities have you participated?........................
1. Membership in honor society..
2. Awards of merit (typing, science, etc.)..............................
3. Athletics (type of sport, class of team, letter or points earned)......
4. Public speaking, dramatic or musical activities.....................
5. Publications...
6. School service (office work, hall duty, etc.)........................
7. Membership in school clubs or organizations........................
8. Offices held—club, class, student body.............................
9. Other school activities..
Gives names of your three best friends at Dorsey......................
....
Give names of three teachers at Dorsey who know you best.............
....
Record any additional information that may help us to help you.......
....
....
....
....
....

FIG. 17. Personal data blank used at

H. R. No _____ H. R. Teacher _____ Grade Counselor _____

A10	A11	A12

Administration. Some counselors have individual students fill out the questionnaire immediately before or after one of their early conferences with the student. This is usually the procedure followed when the questionnaire is used by workers in providing counseling of a specialized nature. Use of the questionnaire then becomes a part of the counseling process.

When the questionnaire is used as a routine procedure with all students, it is generally filled out in a group situation. It is best done in a small group, such as the homeroom or the group guidance class, especially if the person in charge is the adviser or counselor for all or most members of the group. The personal data blank should not be used with groups of new students until these students have been in the school sufficiently long to feel adjusted and to be at ease with the worker who administers the questionnaire. The worker should try to enlist student cooperation by explaining the questionnaire and letting the students discuss its purpose, the confidential nature of their answers, and the use to be made of the findings by their counselors and others.

The students should not be led to believe that their responses will not be made known to others if they will be, even though this practice is not unusual and at times is described in the literature as a "justifiable subterfuge." Many boys and girls are too badly confused already by adults' contradictory behavior with respect to truth and honesty for guidance workers to increase their confusion by deliberately misrepresenting a situation which is as important to students as one in which they make confidential disclosures. The students should not be led to believe that only one person will read their answers if the blanks are to be made available to others. The best procedure to follow is to give the students full information on this point whether they ask for it or not, to explain why it is to their advantage to give the information requested, and then to do everything possible to ensure professional use of the results on the part of all users.

Most questionnaire forms contain an introductory section in which the purpose is explained and instructions are given for filling in the form. The way in which the students are given their instructions, both orally and on the printed form, will determine in a large measure the way in which they will respond. Some introductory paragraphs seem well designed to secure cooperation; others seem likely to arouse distrust and resistance. An example of the first type is seen in the questionnaire used in the Plainfield (N.J.) High School, which begins as follows:[*]

> To be of most assistance to you in planning your way through school, each one of your teachers would like to have a talk with you about your ambitions,

interests, and activities. Since most pupils carry four subjects, this would mean at least four interviews. It would, of course, be ideal if some arrangement could be made whereby you could meet with all your teachers at one time; such an arrangement would conserve your time and theirs. But this is scarcely feasible when almost two thousand pupils are involved.

The following questionnaire represents an attempt to find a substitute for an interview at which you and all your teachers talk over your plans. We expect that you will give your fullest cooperation in answering these questions and by so doing help us in our endeavors to help you.

The authors of the questionnaire used at the El Monte (Calif.) Union High School recognize the highly personal nature of some of the questions, and so they make it easy for students to withhold any information that they may not want to give. They instruct the students as follows:

This questionnaire is for your counselors' information, in order that they may be more helpful to you and more understanding of your problems and needs. You need not reply to any questions which you may prefer not to answer.

In striking contrast to these two examples is the following paragraph that opens another questionnaire:[*]

Directions: Read every statement carefully before attempting an answer. Spend all the time necessary to complete your answers. Accuracy and neatness in writing is essential. Your handwriting will be rated, using the Ayres Handwriting Scale. Write small and use good English. You will not be given a second blank, so think through your answers before you write. This is very important, so do your very best.

Here the students are ordered, not asked. They are warned to watch their writing and to use good English. In answering this questionnaire, many students will undoubtedly be so concerned over how they write that what they write may be of little value. The information regarding the use of the Ayres Handwriting Scale may well be omitted; for to some students, no doubt, it implies an ominous threat. A simple request that the student write clearly and neatly would probably produce a better sample of his handwriting as it ordinarily is as well as help him to write more freely and easily than he is likely to with the instructions as they now are. Also, some students will probably make fewer errors when told that another blank may be had if needed than when warned that they may have one blank and one only. On the whole, this type of introduction is likely to make students anxious, resentful, and inclined to give answers that are more in keeping with their best interests, as they understand them, than with the facts in the case.

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[*] Presented in C. E. Erickson, editor, *A Basic Text for Guidance Workers,* p. 174. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

INTERPRETATION AND USE OF FINDINGS

For the information secured from a student's responses on a personal data blank to be most useful, its significance in the life of the student must be understood. To understand the real meaning of specific responses, a worker in many instances must already know something about the student, his home situation, and his sociological framework. Otherwise, the worker may misinterpret a response, overrating or underrating its importance. A seventeen-year-old girl reports, for instance, on a questionnaire, which she fills out at the beginning of a new school year, that she is now working Saturdays and every day after school in a box factory owned by her uncle in whose home she and her young brother have been living since the death of their parents some fifteen months ago. Anyone, after reading the girl's questionnaire, might think that she must work for her uncle to help pay the cost of living in his home and might even wonder whether she is being exploited. Such thoughts do not occur to the girl's homeroom teacher, however, as she reads the girl's answers. Instead, she notes with interest that the aunt and uncle are trying out a plan considered the previous year as a possible solution to the problem of "how to keep the girl off the streets."

The aunt and uncle had been seriously disturbed by the problem, one that the aunt had tried to solve by giving up a good position to stay at home with the children. The plan did not work, however. The aunt stayed at home, but the girl did not. It was then that the uncle considered finding a job for her in his factory in the hope that it might give her something interesting to do. When the teacher talks with the girl, she finds that this plan seems to be working very well. The girl says that she works as a clerk in a supply room, is not always busy and so has time to study while at work, gets "regular wages," does not have to pay anything to her aunt, can use the money for clothes and the like, but wants to follow her uncle's advice to try to save something each month. Far from exploiting the girl, the uncle is trying very hard to help her meet some of the problems resulting from the unexpected death of both parents and the sudden change in her home and school situations.

The information obtained from a questionnaire should always be interpreted in the light of information secured from other sources. For example, in answer to the questions "Do you have a separate room?" and "If not, with whom do you share your room?" one student answered "Yes" to the first question. Another answered "No" to the first one and "With my three brothers" to the second. These answers indicate that the first boy's home situation is better than that of the second boy, whereas the opposite is true. The first has a room that in the second boy's home

would probably be used only as a storeroom because it would be considered too small and too poorly ventilated to be comfortable as a bedroom. The room that the second boy shares with his three brothers is a very large attractive room with windows on three sides. It occupies the space usually given to two or more rooms. The "barracks," as the boys call this room, is the brothers' bedroom. They have elsewhere in the house ample space in which to play and study. While this example is somewhat extreme, it is not unusual. The misinterpretation that might follow from a comparison of the boys' answers by someone uninformed about the two homes is probably no greater than the misinterpretations actually made each day of the answers given by other students to other questions—misinterpretations made because the readers do not have sufficient background information to attach correct meanings to the students' answers.

The findings from the questionnaire should be used for the same purpose that any information gathered about a student should be used—to gain understanding of the student so that he may receive instruction and guidance in keeping with his needs and may be assisted in any way possible in his progress toward good adjustment and maturity. The findings may be used specifically in many ways for achieving this general purpose. Some examples follow.

Each year a girl may give in answer to the question about vocational plans some vague response or may write "Undecided" or "Don't know yet." Or her responses given over a period of several years may vary widely, showing a lack of any consistent or definite interest. While this girl should not be pressed to come to a decision before she is ready to, she should be given help with her problem. The worker can help the girl by encouraging her to talk about herself and the things she likes and dislikes and by trying to interest her in widening her range of occupational information through reading, looking at film strips on occupations, following certain radio and television programs, and doing other such things. The worker may be able to help the girl to come to a better understanding of her assets and liabilities by going over the girl's records with her, discussing the test findings, and studying the data from questionnaire, autobiographical material, and other sources.

They may find an important clue in the questionnaire. The girl may, for example, consistently report home economics and art as the subjects she liked best, which may indicate nothing more than a normal interest in a home career. If, however, the girl's school marks show that these specific interests seem to be accompanied by definite ability, the worker should try to interest the girl in learning more about the occupations or occupational fields in which she may be able to satisfy her strong interests in home economics and art and develop her abilities in these areas. The

girl's answers to questions about work experience show that she has not had a chance to try out her interests and abilities, except at home and at school. It may be possible to arrange for her to obtain through work the exploratory experiences that she needs in order to find out whether she should make her interests in art, clothing, foods, home management, or the like vocational as well as avocational interests.

Another student's response to the question about free-time activities may show considerable participation in many different activities. Other evidence may indicate that his participation in extracurricular activities is excessive and may be interfering with his academic progress. The interview findings may reveal that the boy may be seeking through excessive participation in extracurricular activities some compensation for lack of success in academic work. In this case the worker may be able to help the boy to work out an extracurricular program that will permit him to engage in satisfying free-time activities without jeopardizing his chance at success in class work and at the same time be able to help him to work out a curricular program that will permit him to have a better chance at academic success. By going over the boy's records with him and frankly discussing what they reveal, the worker may help the boy to organize his efforts better and to think more clearly regarding his goals and interests than he may have done before.

The answer given by another boy to the same question on recreational interests and activities may show that he apparently does not have a hobby or special interest of any kind to serve as a balancing force or to fill any frustrating gaps in his life. The boy's response may provide an important clue or a completely false one. Further investigation may show that the boy has strong recreational interests which he cultivates enthusiastically but "just didn't bother to report." Or the investigation may show that the boy spends very little time in having fun because he thinks that "just having fun" is a waste of time, that he should always be doing something useful. The worker may not be able to help this boy to learn how to have fun and to be comfortable while doing so. Certain strong influences in his out-of-school life may prevent his ever being able to do so. Perhaps the worker can help him by taking care never to show any hostility toward students' having fun and by participating wholeheartedly with the students in some of their fun-bringing activities. But this solution may be too simple and neat. Maybe the only way that the worker can help the boy is by not doing anything and by preventing others as far as possible from doing anything that will cause him to feel uncomfortably different.

A student's reply to the question about vocational plans may show that his plans are not in harmony with his apparent pattern of abilities. As pointed out in Chap. 5, a worker does not help such a student by telling

him that he is aiming too high and then prescribing another objective for him. He may be able to help the boy, however, by encouraging him to discuss his plans and to examine the available evidence regarding his strengths and weaknesses so that the boy may perceive any contradictory patterns and study their significance.

The goals that some students report in their questionnaires are not, however, as unrealistic as the teachers of these students may think. Sometimes students and teachers use terms differently. In stating that he plans to be an engineer, a student may only mean that he wants to become an operator of a certain type of machine. He has every reason to believe that he can achieve this goal and knows that, when he does, his coworkers will usually refer to him as "the engineer." A teacher, however, may think that the boy wants to become a highly trained specialist in the engineering profession. Some responses written on the questionnaires may be misunderstood by some readers unless they are first translated or interpreted by their authors.

A student's vocational objective may be more realistic than it seems to his teachers not only because the student and the teachers view the objective differently but also because actually the objective is not so much out of line with the student's abilities and talents as the teachers think. Dresden[a] gives a good example in her account of Delores, a high-school student, who amused her teachers greatly when she indicated that she wanted to be a singer. The teachers knew that the girl was not even in the school chorus and that she had made an IQ of 80 "on an individual test." The girl did not think singing lessons necessary, and yet she wanted to be a singer. Apparently, however, she was not "all wrong," for Dresden reports:

"Do you think you can be a singer without taking lessons?"

"Certainly—I am now! Don't tell anyone, because I am not 16 yet so I haven't got a permit. Of course, I don't sing every night, and I don't get paid—but the manager always gives my mother some money."

And so she told me about singing week ends for private parties in "small halls" back of taverns, and for weddings, offering continuous entertainment for the guests. She fairly sparkled as she told me of her triumphs, of the great demand for her talents, of the fun it was, and the money which her mother received.

Clearly, if the worker is to interpret properly a student's responses on a questionnaire, he must have much more information about the student than he can secure through the questionnaire alone.

The questionnaire is an effective and safe tool only when used by

[a] Katherine W. Dresden, "Vocational Choices of Secondary Pupils," *Occupations,* 27:104–106, November, 1948.

workers scrupulously professional in their dealing with students. If the data are not used in a professional manner, some student might get hurt. Too many of us have witnessed a teacher's consulting some student's personal data much in the same way and for much the same reason that Mrs. Grundy may question her neighbor's children—to snoop. Students may not know that such actually occurs, but some suspect it. They feel justified in trying to protect themselves and their families by withholding information or by embroidering the facts.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE INSTRUMENT

The Need for Improvement. An examination of only a portion of the many questionnaires currently used for eliciting from students information about their backgrounds, plans, and various types of experiences makes one believe that the situation today with respect to student questionnaires is not very different from the much-protested questionnaire situation of 1927–1928 that led to an NEA investigation.[*] The investigation was undertaken because of the strong protests that were being made by both the senders and the recipients of questionnaires. The senders were troubled by the behavior of many recipients who refused to cooperate or cooperated very poorly; and the recipients were troubled by the many questionnaires—good, bad, and indifferent—that were "roaming the country unrestrained."

The NEA Research Division made an intensive follow-up study of 267 questionnaires on a variety of topics that were received by certain school superintendents during 1927–1928. The investigators found that many questionnaires made very small contributions, even to the ones circulating them. "No report of any kind could be obtained as to what happened to 64 of the 267. A considerable percentage of the questionnaires for which reports could be obtained were not . . . used in any way." If a similar investigation were made of the many questionnaires recently answered by students during a school year, it might be found that, like the questionnaires sent to the school administrators, some are worthwhile and are making first-rate contributions but many are not making any contribution of real value because the results are not used or because the questionnaires are badly handled, poorly prepared, and indefensibly time-consuming.

Some Guideposts. Authors of questionnaires generally find that the following guideposts mark the way to improved questionnaires.

1. Limit the scope of the questionnaire. To secure complete and truthful answers, the questionnaire should be as short as possible. It is gen-

erally better to use several short specialized questionnaires than one long questionnaire that seeks detailed information on many subjects. One boy, when about halfway through the task of filling out a very long personal data blank, wearily announced that he was tired of writing about himself. The other students, no doubt, felt the same way; and many, anxious to get the job over with, probably did not fill out the second half as carefully as they did the first half.

Short questionnaires that deal with one or a few topics, will, no doubt, yield better responses than the sections on the same topics contained in long questionnaires. It is very doubtful, for example, that the section on health as it usually appears in the long questionnaire produces much significant information on many students or that it is very useful for screening students in need of special attention. Besides, a school faculty should not have to secure this type of information on new students through a questionnaire. The new students should be examined and questioned individually by a doctor or some other health specialist. If the questionnaire has to be the procedure used, a special committee, which includes the school nurse and some of the health education instructors, should develop a special questionnaire on health which will ask for pertinent facts and will yield information more valuable than that secured from a list of childhood diseases and a student's estimate of his health as "poor, good, or excellent."

Some authors of personal data blanks seem to confuse these instruments with tests, for they include questions to which they surely know the answers. Included, for example, in the vocational section of one questionnaire are questions about the vocational virtues and vices; and in another questionnaire the vocational section includes the question "How much training will be necessary to prepare for either of these occupations [the ones named as first and second choices]?" These are questions that the new student may properly expect to ask the counselor, instead of having them asked of him by the counselor.

Similarly some questionnaires and questionnaire sections on study habits seem designed more for testing or for pointing out the importance of certain matters than for securing information about the students' study habits. Since the information obtained from responses to questions on study habits is usually negligible, the time spent in asking students how they study might be better invested in teaching them how to study. Instead of using some teacher-made questionnaire on study procedures, it might be well to use some standardized questionnaire, such as Wrenn's Study Habits Inventory (Stanford University Press), in much the same way that standardized inventories of vocational interests, such as the Kuder Preference Record, are often used—to arouse interest and to start students to thinking seriously about the matter and to provide a spring-

board for discussions of the subject with the group or with the individual.

The personal data blank is an analytical technique and so should be used only for gathering information. It should not be used for the dual purpose of collecting information and of giving information or teaching by stressing the importance of certain matters through inclusion of questions about them. The questionnaire, for example, used at the Dorsey High School (shown in first section of this chapter) does not include a group of questions on study procedures. It contains a single question regarding the amount of time the student spends each day on homework. The Dorsey High School faculty know, however, that they must help the students to recognize the importance of good study habits and must help them to develop and regularly use good study procedures. They do not try to do this through analytical procedures. Instead, they use instructional procedures, one of which is a four-page leaflet for student use.

2. Eliminate questions which ask for information already available. Unless there is doubt regarding its accuracy, information should not be sought that is already available. Like teachers, students dislike unnecessary duplication. Questions about grades repeated and courses failed are undesirable not only because such information is obtainable from the cumulative records and hence the questions are little more than padding in a personal data blank but also because they make some students feel uncomfortable unnecessarily. The new student who must list his past failures may fear that he is prejudicing his new teachers against him at the start and that some will give him lower marks than they might if they thought that he was a chronic success rather than a chronic failure in his previous school.

3. Avoid using questions that suggest the answers, are incriminating, or reflect on others. When questions suggest the answers, many students give the answers suggested as "right." Self-interest and a desire to please dictate the responses that some students give to questions like the following:

Can you go out on school nights?
Do you listen to the radio while studying?
Do you have a regular bedtime?
Do you make an effort to give continued attention to speakers in class, assembly, and church?
Do you usually listen to at least one news broadcast every day?
Do you take pride in handing in neat legible papers?

Some questionnaires contain items that many students are probably unwilling to answer for fear that an answer may be a boomerang. They are likely to consider it unwise to give honest answers to such questions as these:

Which subject do you dislike most?

Which is your easiest subject?

Do you usually get all the help you need from your teachers?

Are you afraid to ask your teachers for help?

Do you think of your teachers as friends?

Do you consider some school tasks assigned by your teachers a waste of time?

Such questions are more likely to be answered truthfully when given in an evaluation questionnaire which the students answer anonymously after they have completed the courses appraised than when given in an information blank in which the students are asked to sign. Some, however, are even of doubtful value for inclusion in evaluation blanks. The inclusion of the last question given above, for example, may prevent some students from making a thoughtful objective appraisal and may cause some teachers to resist using an evaluation form that contains such a question.

4. *Avoid asking questions that may be embarrassing or that are highly personal.* Because personal data forms often contain questions that some students find embarrassing, the students should be permitted to leave unanswered, if they wish, questions about religion, the education and occupations of their parents, home conditions, and the like.

One questionnaire, for example, contains a chart with spaces in which the student is to indicate the number of years each of his parents attended high school and college. Space is not provided, however, for showing education terminated below the high-school level; yet the parents of many students did not complete the elementary school. If the student is embarrassed by his parents' limited education, he is likely to feel even more ashamed if the questionnaire indicates that his teachers believe that all parents have at least some high-school education. Some students confronted with this problem of how to report their parents' education on a form which does not provide the spaces needed may solve the problem by awarding their parents high-school diplomas and even giving them, perhaps, one or more years in college. In one school the teachers are instructed to try to guard against the students' tendency, in filling out questionnaires, to conceal the real nature of their fathers' occupation by giving a general occupational classification, such as "laborer" or "factory worker." More specific information than that supplied by general terms, such as "laborer" and "factory worker," is certainly desirable; but it is not desirable that students be pressed to report more than they are willing to report about such matters.

Information about the student's home conditions and his family's socio-economic status is highly important and should be secured for every student if possible, but it is very doubtful that it should always be sought directly from a student. It is information that is best obtained through

direct contact with the home rather than through direct questions. Much of it can be secured indirectly through observation, conferences with parents and student, and information obtained from other sources.[10]

Some questionnaire authors seem to hold the old storybook attitude toward stepparents, whereas many students hold attitudes of deep affection toward a stepfather or a stepmother. Some students do not like the way that the stepparent is pushed to one side in some questionnaires. Of the many questionnaires examined by the writer the Plainfield form is one of the few in which the stepparent is made equal to the parent whose place he takes. In it the same questions are asked about the stepparent as about the father and the mother, and the questions regarding the stepparent come immediately after the ones about the father and the mother. In some other questionnaires only one or two questions are asked about the stepparent, and these questions are not always included in the section on family and home but are given elsewhere and later, somewhat as an afterthought.

Many students fail to see value in certain questions concerning private matters. Others are antagonized, for sometimes the questions are not asked with tact. One questionnaire, for example, contains the following questions that may be too blunt or personal for some students:

Are you a ward of this state?
Have you always lived with your parents?
Do you like it there [home]?
Do you enjoy entertaining friends in your home?
Do you date with the opposite sex? If so, how often?

5. Avoid making the questionnaire indefensibly long through inclusion of requests for information that is not essential or through use of questions that students will find difficult to answer because of their lack of information or understanding of the points covered.

Frequently questions are asked that some students find difficult to answer because they are not able to recall or to analyze their experiences sufficiently well. Symonds[11] stresses this point, calling attention to the fact that students do not naturally observe their own habits or methods of work and that we should not assume that they have made observations of their conduct and are ready to answer our questions. "This form of retrospection, of looking back over one's behavior processes and recounting them," he says, "is a feat that requires special training." To make

[10] Ordinarily any questionnaire constructed for securing or recording information about the home, particularly socioeconomic data, should be prepared for use by staff members rather than for use with students. Such a form, called the Home Description Scale, was developed by Rothney and others for use in an elementary school. With a few modifications this scale of questionnaire can be made applicable for use in high schools. Rothney and Roens, op. cit., pp. 236–237.

[11] Symonds, op. cit., p. 143. Used by permission of Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.

the point clear, Symonds gives a few simple questions on golf, such as "Does it bother you to have someone watch you drive?" and "How do you prepare for a match?" which some golfers would consider ridiculous. "The only golfer who stops to analyze his movements is the golf instructor or the professional who wants to write a book." Some students may consider ridiculous the questions given below. Others may consider them sensible but may find them difficult to answer because they do not know how to answer them correctly. Rather than answer "I do not know" many will give answers which may approximate the truth or may be far from it. Here are the questions:

How many hours a week do you spend in athletic activities? In nonathletic (extracurricular) activities?

Why do you prefer the kind of athletics in which you take part?

How long have you had each special interest?

List the things you think you do better than most young people your age.

Are you easily distracted while studying?

Do you often study hard and then forget what you have studied?

Does difficulty with spelling keep you from doing as much writing as you would do otherwise?

Do you have a good light on your work in all your classes? Please list rooms where the light is poor.

Students should not be asked the last question, for many do not know the standard for a "good light." If the teachers believe that in some rooms the light is substandard, they should check and notify the proper authorities where improvement is needed. Since some forgetting follows practically all learning, some adults as well as some students would not know how to answer the question about forgetting after studying hard. Also, not many students really understand why they prefer certain subjects and activities or know whether, in comparison with others of their age, they have serious difficulty with spelling or are easily disturbed.

Some questionnaires are definitely overstuffed. Used as stuffing are questions like "Do you have to be 'in the mood' to do your best work?" Adults generally enjoy their work more and work better when "in the mood" than when not; so they may assume that youngsters do too. Another question that may help to make a questionnaire indefensibly long is "Do you have common interests with your brothers or sisters? Explain?" (Same question is not asked with respect to sisters. Author of questionnaire may have brothers but not sisters and may have forgotten that some students have sisters but not brothers.) It is a rare student who does not have common interests with his brothers and sisters, and it is the student himself, perhaps, who should say "Explain"; for he may wonder whether the question refers to common interests in the family's welfare, in certain conditions in the home, and in the parents' affection or whether it refers

to interest in the same radio programs, the same comics, the same hobbies, and the like.

When the question "How long do you study at home each night?" is followed by "Do you take books home to study each night?" the second question becomes a space filler. Also, why ask a student "Have you talked with anyone about your future plans? Who?" Of course, the student has talked with others unless there is something wrong with him or his home; and we may assume that included among the persons with whom he has talked are his parents, brothers and sisters, and friends. The important question is "Has he talked with his counselor about his plans?" and that question should be put to the counselor, not to the student.

6. Do not control the students' answers too closely through the use of check lists and detailed questions. Detailed questions do not always yield the comprehensive specific information that they are ordinarily intended to produce. Some questionnaires contain detailed questions about travel, attendance at summer camps, talents, honors, and special accomplishments that may make some students feel dissatisfied with themselves and their lot.

Instead of asking such precise questions as "What poem, letter, or article have you written that has been published?" "Have you ever given a music recital?" "How many summers have you gone to camp?" "Which of the places on the following list have you visited?" it is better to ask the student to report what he did during particular summers, to tell about his special achievements and experiences, and to list the out-of-school groups and activities in which he participates. If sufficient space is provided on the form, more unusual experiences may be reported than are asked about in all the specific questions that are used on such topics. Moreover, experiences usually considered ordinary, such as spending a summer at home, may be reported by some boy or girl as an unusual experience. Furthermore, some students who do not have an opportunity to attend camps or to go elsewhere during the summer will report vacation experiences equally important in terms of developmental values, which are not covered by the questions generally asked about vacation experiences.

One Middle West school uses a questionnaire which gives, with the question on travel, a check list which includes all the continents except one, some foreign countries, and the various regions of this country, with instructions to check the places visited and to indicate age at the time of visit. The amount of time spent in the place is not asked, however. Although considerable space is given to this question, it is doubtful that it produces a clear picture of the travel experiences of most students in the school. Were the students asked simply to report their travel experiences, many would report trips to different parts of their own state and to some

neighboring states; for this is the type of travel experienced by most high-school students. Not many are able to report travel in foreign countries. The check list, however, does not provide for reports on travel in the students' own state and gives as much space to travel in foreign countries as to travel in the United States.

When answers are not controlled by detailed questions and check lists, students tend to report freely the experiences that they consider important. To help bring forth this type of information should be one of the principal contributions of the personal data blank.

7. Try out the questionnaire in preliminary form, preferably with individuals similar to the ones with whom the questionnaire is to be used, in order to determine whether every question asks what is intended, whether any is interpreted differently by different respondents, and whether any arouses resistance and antagonism.

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Self-reports: Evaluation and Follow-up

THE EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

The evaluation questionnaire is used to ascertain students' opinion of school offerings and practices in order to determine some of the changes needed for improvement of the educational program. This type of questionnaire may be used with members of a class to appraise the particular class situation (room conditions, student-teacher relations, skill and personality of the teacher, course content); or it may be used with all students in the school or with a large portion of the student body, such as all freshmen or all seniors, in order to evaluate the total program or some phase of the program, such as instruction, guidance, or the health services. To secure frank and comprehensive answers, the worker usually instructs the students not to sign the questionnaire.

Evaluation by a Class. The literature indicates that use of an evaluation questionnaire with class groups is a practice more frequently adopted by teachers in colleges than in high schools. In both high school and college the use of such a questionnaire should be optional, and a teacher should not have to report the findings if he prefers not to do so. When evaluation questionnaires are used and the results reported on a voluntary basis, a teacher will probably not only be more willing to have students evaluate his classes but will also be better able to accept any deserved criticism and sound recommendation, will be less disturbed by unwarranted criticism, and will be more willing to make modifications in keeping with sound criticism and recommendations than he might be were he required to use the questionnaire and to report the results or hand over the forms to someone else for summarizing and reporting.

When evaluation questionnaires are used upon administrative decree and the filled-in forms delivered to some administrative office, poor cooperation can be expected from at least some faculty members. Such procedures make even highly competent teachers feel insecure and probably make most teachers feel some resentment. Moreover, the not-strong

teachers can be expected to do all that they can to curry favor with their students and to try to influence the students' answers in other ways. Good teaching then may become subordinate to being popular with students.

The teacher who is sincerely interested in knowing the students' candid opinion of him as a teacher in order that he may improve his procedures is usually able to help his students to approach the problem correctly and to make their evaluations as objectively as possible. Some teachers give the questionnaires to their students at the time of the last class session and ask them to return the answered forms after they receive their marks in the course. This procedure offers the important advantage of having the students know definitely that their statements will not affect their marks, but it has the disadvantage of increasing the possibility that some students will not return the questionnaires. For this reason many teachers have the questionnaires filled out during the last class period, assure the students that no attempt will be made to learn the identity of any respondent, and hope that the students will have faith in their integrity. If the students have found the teacher consistently aboveboard, they will have faith in him; if they have not always found him fair and straightforward, they will know how to protect themselves in their answers.

General questions followed by enough space for long answers will usually bring forth more helpful information than detailed questions like the following:

> Are the assignments clear?
> Is the work explained sufficiently well?
> Does the teacher really enjoy young people?
> Are the objectives of the course explained and followed?
> Does he show thorough knowledge of his subject?

Better than such detailed questions are general questions like the following:

> What did you like best about this course?
> How do you think it could be improved?
> What characteristics of the teacher do you like best?
> What in the course have you enjoyed most (or found most helpful)?
> What in the course have you enjoyed least (or found least helpful)?

The inclusion of specific questions about undesirable practices or objectionable personality characteristics of teachers antagonizes many teachers against the use of evaluation questionnaires. If students find certain teachers guilty of showing partiality, of being inconsistent, dictatorial, or too lax or if they consider some teachers not to be well-adjusted people or to be persons with annoying or offensive ways, they can express their feelings and make known their opinions in their answers to the general questions regarding things liked best and liked least, if they dare to

criticize at all. Even the use of negative terms such as "dislike" should be avoided as well as questions like the following:

Are students given enough chance to talk?
Are students who disagree with the teacher made to feel uncomfortable?
Will the teacher admit he is wrong?
Is he basically a well-adjusted person?
Do you find the teacher a dictator?
Is he too personal?
Does he hold grudges?
Does he maintain an open mind?

Some evaluation questionnaires contain a rating scale. The blank used at one university includes a scale that is somewhat as follows:

Directions: Answer question by placing check mark above answer that you think is correct.

			?
In comparison with other courses has this one been	more useful	about average	less useful
			?
	more interesting	about average	less interesting
			?
If you were considering another course taught by the same teacher, would his being the teacher be	added reason for taking it	immaterial	added reason for not taking it

Evaluation of a Service or a Program. The evaluation questionnaire used with all students or with a large portion of the student body may be narrow in scope, covering only one phase of the school program, such as guidance or student activities; or it may be very broad, covering the total program of administration, instruction, guidance, and special services and certain phases of student life.

A good example of the questionnaire[1] used to evaluate a school's guidance program is the one used in the New York City survey by the Committee on Evaluation of Guidance. The questionnaire that was used with the seniors in all high schools of the city opens with a letter in which the senior is asked to help the Committee to obtain "a picture of high school life as the student sees it" and by so doing to make it possible for the students who follow him in the school to benefit from his experiences and through his suggestions. The senior is asked to extend the scope of the

[1] Copy of this questionnaire is given in F. M. Wilson, *Procedures in Evaluating a Guidance Program*, pp. 96–100. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945.

questionnaire by giving on an added sheet further information and suggestions.

The New York City survey questionnaire was designed to secure information about various choices made by the seniors during their high-school years, the persons (school and nonschool) whom they had consulted in making these choices, satisfactions and dissatisfactions had from their school experiences, and the particular faculty members who had helped and influenced them most. Since the students were told not to sign the questionnaires, information regarding previous schools attended, curriculum followed during high school, and certain other items, which ordinarily should not be included in a signed form because obtainable elsewhere, was asked for because needed in interpreting certain answers.

In the New York City survey blank the questions are simple and direct and more general than detailed. The senior is asked, for example, "What are the most important things that you have gained from high school?" "Could the school have helped you more?" and "What have been your main interests in school? Describe." Unlike many questionnaires of its type, the blank does not include check lists. Instead of being given a list of the principal student activities and told to check the ones in which he has taken part, the student is asked, "In what activities have you taken part for at least one full term?" Had a check list been used, some students, no doubt, would have checked activities in which they had not participated; and some students probably would not have reported participation in activities not listed (because overlooked or because a subordinate part of one listed) even though they had been very active participants and even leaders.

The New York City questionnaire also includes a rating scale. The seniors are asked to indicate on a five-point scale ranging from exceedingly satisfactory through exceedingly unsatisfactory their estimate of the way in which the schools had met their needs with respect to development of personality, of good health habits, of reading habits and interests, of social behavior, and of social-mindedness; the general quality of teaching; the friendliness and helpfulness of the teachers; the information and advice received on further education and on vocations; training useful in getting a job and earning a living; and their all-round development and experience in school.

Preparation of the Form. The same rules given for preparing the personal data blank apply also to the evaluation questionnaire. Because the evaluation questionnaire is used for ascertaining opinion as well as facts, care should be taken to provide sufficient space for the answers and to word the questions in such a way that free expression is encouraged. Since the questionnaire is to be answered anonymously, the summaries of all answers to particular questions are often more used than the indi-

vidual responses. Individual responses are not ignored, however; for, as in all other types of writing, some individuals can analyze a situation better than others. The response of a particular individual may be more enlightening than the combined answers of all other respondents. Because, however, all answers should be tabulated and summary reports prepared, convenience of tabulating as well as convenience of answering should be kept in mind when the questionnaire blank is being prepared. Only one side of a page should be used. Questions should be numbered and subitems lettered so that the tabulator can identify each one quickly and easily. Also, it is well to arrange the blank so that, as far as possible, all or most answers will come to the same side of the page.

FOLLOW-UP STUDIES

The follow-up questionnaire is a combination of the personal data blank and the evaluation questionnaire. It is used for the twofold purpose of obtaining information about the postschool life of former students (drop-outs and graduates) and for learning their opinions of the general value as well as the educational and vocational usefulness of their former school experiences. This type of questionnaire should be used not only for the purposes of research and evaluation but also for the purpose of service—to discover and assist former students in need of further training and guidance.

For the purpose of service, the follow-up study made the year after a student withdraws or graduates is generally more important than the one made two, three, or more years later. It is during the first year that he is on his own or in a new kind of school or training program that the average young person has to contend with special problems of adjustment and to make crucial educational and vocational decisions. For purposes of evaluation, however, the three-year, five-year, and later follow-up studies are probably more important than the one-year study. The student who has been out of school three or more years is ordinarily better able to appraise his previous school experiences in terms of intangible values and long-range objectives than the one who has very recently left school and who still has more the point of view of a student than of an older person.

Follow-up studies of school graduates are made more often than follow-up studies of drop-outs because they can be made much more easily. It is relatively easy to get in touch with the graduates; and the questionnaire method can be used reasonably well with them, whereas the only adequate method for obtaining information from drop-outs seems to be the interview, a much more difficult and expensive technique than the questionnaire.

Survey of Graduates

The interest of school people in survey studies of graduates has been greatly stimulated by reports on youth survey studies made by people outside the schools. These reports have called attention to the adjustment problems of American boys and girls and have made known youth's appraisal of the adequacy of the school programs for helping them to deal with their problems. Not in any attempt to disprove the negative findings of the youth studies, but through a sincere desire to improve education by identifying and correcting weaknesses in the school programs, workers in many schools have undertaken survey studies of the graduates of their schools and have made known the findings, both good and bad. These reports are helping other school people to become interested in undertaking similar studies.

Cooperative Projects Preferred. There are indications that survey studies of school graduates, and to a less extent of school drop-outs, are becoming routine procedures in some school systems. When follow-up studies are carried out according to a plan organized for all the schools in a town, city, or county, the work of canvassing the graduates of a particular school, of studying and tabulating the replies, and of preparing the summary report is done by workers in that school. The survey instruments and procedures, however, which are recommended for use (often on an optional basis), are prepared and planned by a central group usually made up of representatives from the various schools.

A cooperative follow-up plan organized at the community or county level has certain advantages over a plan whereby each school makes its own study more or less independently:

1. Participation in the work is increased because provision of consultation and advisory service helps to increase interest and to make the work easier than it would be otherwise.

2. Cooperative planning results in better procedures and more attractive instruments than would be used by some schools when acting alone. Arrangements, for example, are likely to be made for the use of printed form letters and questionnaires, which usually bring in more returns because they are ordinarily more attractive and more easily answered than forms duplicated by some other means.

3. A composite report based on the summary reports from a number of schools provides an over-all picture that will show, among other things, that offerings and activities which are good for students in one school may not be very good for students in another school in the same community and that in some schools the students are receiving a great deal in terms of certain services whereas the students in another school are receiving

very little, not because of inadequacies in the persons providing the service, but because of inadequacies in provision for staff and facilities. In short, the composite picture helps to reveal differences in the needs of different groups of students in the same community and to show gaps in the over-all program for provision of certain services. In some areas of service the minimum standards may be raised for all schools, and the high standards achieved by some schools may encourage the workers in other schools to try to provide service above the minimum standards.

4. The cooperative plan adds weight to the findings, thus helping to secure correction of certain conditions through action that must be taken or can be taken more effectively through the central office or by the school board than through action taken in a particular school.

5. Cooperatively organized follow-up studies attract public interest, help to secure public support for efforts toward improvement, and help to gain the assistance needed from nonschool groups. A community center, for example, was established in a Michigan town when the findings from a follow-up study of high-school graduates showed that the young people in the community needed more opportunities for suitable recreation. When in another Michigan community, Kalamazoo, it became known that most of the students went from high school into industry and business, that during a six-year period only about 25 per cent of the graduates had gone to college, the chamber of commerce and certain other community organizations took action as follows:[2]

. . . set up a steering committee to work with the school authorities in developing adequate offerings and helpful relationships with the industries of the city. A training program in distributive occupations was established under the provisions of the Michigan State Plan for Vocational Education; an apprenticeship training program was introduced; a placement bureau was established for students; and a complete vocational survey was made to disclose the opportunities and demands of modern business.

Securing Enough Returns. In using questionnaires with students still in school, a faculty is not ordinarily concerned with the problem of how to secure enough replies because the forms are usually filled out in school under supervision. Thus replies are generally obtained from all students except the ones absent on a particular day. In the case of follow-up questionnaires, however, the problem of securing enough returns may be a serious one. To secure adequate returns, the workers need to know, first, how to reach the former students whom they wish to canvass; second, how to prepare a questionnaire that is easy to understand and to fill out and that is free from annoying or embarrassing questions; and, third, how to

[2] D. E. Kitch and W. H. McCreary, *Guide for Making a Follow-up Study of School Drop-outs and Graduates,* California Guidance Bulletin 13. Sacramento: State Department of Education, January, 1950. Mimeographed.

compose a letter that will arouse the former students' interest and induce them to give the cooperation needed.

In order to maintain contact with former students and to increase the possibility of securing the kind of cooperation wanted at the time of a later follow-up study, regular provision should be made for one-year follow-up studies. The double-post-card type of questionnaire is usually sufficient for the one-year study. The former student is asked to report on the card to be returned any change in address and to tell what he is doing and where and is urged to write a letter in which he tells about his life since leaving school and about his plans for the future. This type of follow-up study is relatively inexpensive and helps to keep a school's records up to date. Then, when the more elaborate follow-up study is to be made, the former students are more easily located than they would be had contact not been established with them during the year after their departure.

In most schools in which follow-up studies are a regular part of the guidance program, cooperation is sought from the future alumni while they are still in school. In some schools, in order to maintain contact with the withdrawer as well as the graduate, students are told about the follow-up work during their first year in the school and are asked to keep in touch with the school should they find it necessary or desirable to leave school without graduating. In most cases, however, efforts to secure cooperation from present students are directed toward the seniors. In some cases the seniors are asked to notify their homeroom teachers or counselors the following year of any change in address and to report their new activities. Sometimes the seniors are given questionnaire blanks to fill out and return after a certain period of time.

In a number of schools the senior problems class assumes responsibility for some of the work involved in carrying out a follow-up study. The seniors may even propose revisions in the forms to be used as well as prepare the materials, send out the blanks and form letters, and discuss the summary report on the results. Since the individual replies are confidential, the seniors cannot share in the work of tabulating and summarizing the answers. Their participating in the work undoubtedly helps to increase the returns for both the study undertaken during their senior year and the later study in which they are the respondents.

To aid the return of enough properly answered questionnaires for the results to be useful, the blank must be neat, easily read, and as attractive as possible. It should be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope for the return of the filled-in form and by a letter that induces the former student to give the time and attention needed for filling out the entire form. The letter should sound warm and friendly.

To save time and money, a form letter must ordinarily be used. If the

letter is for use in a particular school only, it can be personalized through references to certain important or interesting experiences once shared by the members of the follow-up group and likely to be remembered by all, such as the "big game," the class-day party, commencement exercises, and the like, and through a request that each one return the questionnaire with a letter in which he tells all about himself. The letters that are prepared for use by a number of schools participating in follow-up studies according to some cooperative arrangement cannot be personalized as easily as letters prepared for use in only one school. For this reason some schools participating in cooperative studies use the recommended questionnaire blanks but devise their own form letters.

A good form letter for use in a number of schools can be prepared, however, which will bring the response wanted. It does not have to be a formal letter; it can be sincerely friendly in tone and can appeal strongly to a young person's feelings of school loyalty and of civic responsibility for contributing to the improvement of the public schools. Such a letter has been developed for use in the high schools and junior college of Chanute, Kans. This letter is the first page of a four-page pamphlet, the other three pages being used for the questionnaire. It reads as follows:

The administration and faculty of the Chanute schools are eager to improve the school curriculum to fit the needs of the students. We know of no better way to acquire suggestions for this purpose than through the students who are graduating from the school system and are out in the field working. We feel that you have had, since you left school, many experiences which would aid us in providing future students with a better educational system. We are also eager to know how you are getting along and if we can be of some help to you. For this reason we are sending you this questionnaire.

We have made the questions so that you can answer them by merely checking your response. However, if you desire to elaborate more fully, feel free to do so; in fact, we would appreciate your personal comments. If you have time, write us a few lines on the back of the questionnaire. Your answers will be treated confidentially, and your name will not be used in any way.

The Chanute schools are your schools. Your reaction to your school work and your experiences since graduation can be of real help in our enriching the curriculum and improving the schools for the youth of Chanute.

Will you sit down now, while you have this questionnaire before you, answer these questions, and return the form in the stamped envelope?

We wish you the best of success in whatever your work may be.

Sincerely yours,

The procedures adopted for the follow-up study can probably be carried out more effectively by the former students' counselors than by others, provided, of course, that the counselors are interested in the work

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> > Sincerely yours,

The procedures adopted for the follow-up study can probably be carried out more effectively by the former students' counselors than by others, provided, of course, that the counselors are interested in the work

and their case loads are sufficiently light to make follow-up service a practicable addition to the counselors' functions. Personal notes written by the counselors at the bottom of the form letters sent to their former counselees help to increase the number of questionnaires returned in answer to the first appeal and thus decrease the number to whom a second appeal must be made. Like the first, the second letter should be cordial and one in which assistance is requested rather than demanded or insisted upon.

The Questionnaire Form. Like other questionnaire blanks, the follow-up form should be as short as possible; but it is important that it provide sufficient space for the answers. Providing outline forms in which the answers may be written is a convenience for both the respondents and the persons who tabulate the responses. The question about work experience, for example, is generally followed by an outline form very much like the one used in the Chanute questionnaire, shown on the preceding pages. A similar chart can be provided for reporting further education which might be as follows:

Name of school	Course	Date entered	Date left	Reason for leaving

The outline provided for reporting work experience nearly always includes spaces for salary. If the questionnaire is sent out by a placement bureau, a request for information about salary is desirable. Otherwise, it is probably better to omit the item. For some individuals the question may be embarrassing; to others it may seem too personal. Either embarrassment or annoyance may cause some individuals not to return the form. If a former student is earning a salary that is above or below the average for the type of work that he is doing, he may report this fact when be answers the questions regarding satisfactions and dissatisfactions in relation to work. Because most respondents want to show their former teachers that they are making good, many may be tempted to report better salaries than they are actually earning. A more accurate picture of the earnings of youth can usually be obtained through data from the state employment service than through data from follow-up questionnaires.

The use of check lists in follow-up questionnaires definitely facilitates the work of both the respondent and the person who tabulates the replies. It is much more difficult to summarize results from answers to gen-

eral questions than the checks made on a list of items. The data from the replies to general questions are, however, probably more valid than the data from check lists. As Good[3] states:

> The respondent comes to depend upon the list for suggestiveness and for a classification of his responses, so that he is not so likely to write in additional items. In fact, items which he might intend to record, if there were no categories at all, may be omitted when a list that does not contain them is given him, either because he deems the given list to be inclusive of all that is desired, or because he assumes a mind-set of dependence on the list.

Yet the check list is a great convenience for the respondent and, no doubt, helps to increase the number of returns. For such reasons check lists are generally used in follow-up questionnaires. When used, they should always contain a final category of "other" so that the respondent will be encouraged to expand the list to cover any item that applies to him but is not given in the list. If the category of "other" is not included, some important answers may be omitted.

Significance of the Findings. Most reports on follow-up studies of high-school students give only information regarding the respondents' reactions to previous school experiences and their status at the time of reply. Few give the type of information that makes possible a comparison of the school-period status and the postschool status of the respondents, a type of information that is given in the reports on some follow-up studies of college students, such as the report by Pace[4] on the Young Adult Study of the University of Minnesota.

Obviously a report that shows how many of the students who went to college ranked in the first, second, third, and fourth quartiles, respectively, of their high-school class, according to the findings from a test of scholastic aptitude, is more meaningful than a report that merely tells how many boys and how many girls attended college. And a report on a ten-year follow-up study of high-school graduates that shows that most girls who ranked in the upper half of the group in terms of scholastic aptitude went on to college and from college into clerical work gives the reader far more to think about than it would if it merely stated that a certain percentage of the girls attended college and that a certain percentage of the girls were engaged in clerical work at the time of reply. Most readers of the second type of report would fail to see the girls who graduated from college among the young women employed as clerical workers.

Before a school can successfully make a follow-up study that gives a

[3] C. V. Good *et al.*, *The Methodology of Educational Research*, p. 339. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941. Used by permission of the publishers.
[4] C. Robert Pace, *They Went to College*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1941.

comparison of the status of the respondents during the school period with their status at the time of reply, the school must maintain cumulative records that provide the type of data needed. As Wrenn[5] states:

> If, for example, it should seem desirable to follow up the post-college civic or cultural activities of students who had participated in certain types of student activities, it would be essential to know the *quality* and *extent* of their student participation. This type of information could not well be gathered after they had left school. Too much dependence would have to be placed on retrospection, and this is known to place a serious limitation on the validity of the data. The study should be *planned and started* while the subjects are still in school. A sharp distinction should be drawn between the follow-up subject's statement regarding present status and his reaction regarding what he *thought* he did or thought when he was a student. "Retrospective falsification" is a very real phenomenon.

The significance of the results from a follow-up study depends in part upon the percentage of returns. The fewer the returns, the less significant the findings are likely to be. Ordinarily replies are received from little more than half the group. The returns are generally considered "good" when as many as two-thirds or three-fourths of the members reply. The members replying, however, represent chiefly the ones who show favorable reactions. They represent a biased sampling of the group, and this fact must be considered in interpreting the findings.

Making the follow-up studies a regular procedure seems to help increase the number of returns. Workers gain skill in carrying out the study, and a cooperative attitude may be developed among alumni when follow-up studies are regularly carried out and reported. The reports, for example, on the follow-up studies of the Chanute Junior College show that 67 per cent of the 1948 class sent in replies, whereas 75 per cent of the 1949 class filled out and returned the forms. However, reasons other than the fact that follow-up studies were becoming a routine procedure may account for the better response by the second group.

The validity and reliability of data from follow-up questionnaires, like those from other self-report instruments, are generally questionable. Many respondents, wishing to give as good an account of themselves as possible, withhold some facts and embroider others. In some cases there is intentional and gross misrepresentation. Personal problems lead other respondents to distort the facts or to fail to perceive the facts correctly. Some former students report reactions based on majority opinion or hearsay rather than upon thoughtful, objective appraisal. Others tend to react in keeping with their postschool success, uncritically and incorrectly giving the school credit or blame for their success or lack of suc-

[5] C. Gilbert Wrenn, *Student Personnel Work in College*, p. 494. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1951. The italics are in the original.

cess during the postschool period. Some respond but do so indifferently, answering the questions carelessly and leaving some unanswered or incompletely answered. Also, as stated above, the failure of many to answer at all limits the significance of the data from the questionnaires that are returned.

By interviewing some of the respondents, the worker can make a partial check on the reliability of the answers given in the questionnaire. For example, in the New York City survey, referred to above, a few more than 8,000 students replied anonymously to a questionnaire filled out under uniform conditions in 47 schools. Fifty-two students were selected at random to be interviewed, and their questionnaires held apart from the others so that their responses to the questionnaire could be compared with those given in the interview. During the interview the students were asked the same questions given in the questionnaire and in almost the same words. The report does not show the results because the sampling was so small that the results were considered "inconclusive."[6]

Despite the questionable reliability and validity of data from follow-up studies, they do have value for helping school people to evaluate the school services through a check on the reactions of former recipients of the services. The follow-up study has special values in student personnel work: It helps to show the extent to which the guidance program is fulfilling its functions and indicates some of the changes needed. It reveals the need of some former students for further assistance. It helps to keep the workers informed about training programs, about current industrial and business conditions and practices, about the problems of young and relatively inexperienced workers, and about the interests and activities of young people in general. The summary reports supply valuable information that can be used with present students individually and in groups. It is information that the students consider significant and tend to accept more readily when it comes from persons more nearly their ages than when it comes from teachers, parents, and other adults or from books.

Survey of Drop-outs

The questionnaire method has *not* proved very effective in follow-up work with drop-outs because the percentage of returns is usually disappointingly low. It can be used, however, with some success if used with the student at the time of withdrawal. In one high school the following questionnaire is used with drop-outs who are willing to fill out the form before they withdraw.[7]

Study of Current Drop-outs of Oxnard Union High School

Your answers will he considered **confidential**. They will he used for statistical purposes and for the improvement of the school program.

Name _____   Date _____
Age _____   Course: (Underline one)
Class _____   Business, College Preparatory,
                                      General, Home Economics, or
                                      Industrial

I. Please state very frankly the *real* reason or reasons why you are leaving school. Your honest answers will help us to improve the school.

_____
_____
_____
_____

II. What do you plan to do after leaving school? (Check one)
    1. _____ Work for pay full time
    2. _____ Work for pay part time
    3. _____ Marry
    4. _____ Join armed forces
    5. _____ Look for job
    6. _____ Other (Please describe)

III. Please indicate by a check in the proper column how much this school has helped you in regard to each of the following:

	A great deal	Some	None
1. Getting along with other people			
2. Understanding yourself			
3. Selecting and getting a job			
4. Marriage and family life			
5. Thinking about personal problems			
6. Taking care of your health			
7. Taking part in civic and community affairs			
8. Using your spare time			
9. Using good English			
10. Using basic mathematics skills			
11. Using your money wisely			
12. Ability to read well			

IV. How could Oxnard Union High School have been more helpful to you?_____

_____
_____
_____

V. What do you especially like about Oxnard Union High School?_____

_____

_____

_____

VI. Can Oxnard Union High School be of further service to you? If so, explain:

_____

_____

_____

When the study of drop-outs is made after the students have actually withdrawn from school rather than at the time of withdrawal, better results are ordinarily obtained through the interview than through the questionnaire method. When the interview is the technique used, the first step in the procedure is to prepare a schedule of questions which contains the same items that would be included in the questionnaire if one were used. The proposed items are carefully studied and certain ones selected; a tentative schedule is prepared and submitted to consultants for appraisal; the form is then revised and tested through actual use after which it is again revised; and copies are then printed or mimeographed for use by the interviewers.

Because many drop-outs are reluctant to express themselves fully and frankly with teachers and school counselors, it is not generally considered desirable to use these workers as interviewers. The Louisville study[8] was conducted by the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch of the Division of Labor Standards of the U.S. Department of Labor; the Philadelphia study[9] was made by the Junior Employment Service of the School District of Philadelphia; and the study reported by Dillon[10] was made by the National Child Labor Committee. In studies made in Rochester[11] and Syracuse,[12] however, counselors, vice-principals, visiting teachers, attendance officers, and other school workers were used as interviewers. It was believed that the disadvantages resulting from the interviewers' being school people were offset by the advantages gained through their knowledge of school conditions and extensive experience with young people. The number of drop-outs is ordinarily too large for all to be inter-

[8] Elizabeth S. Johnson and Caroline E. Legg, *Hunting a Career.* Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1949.

[9] *Philadelphia Board of Education, When Philadelphia Youth Leave School at 16 and 17.* Philadelphia: Junior Employment Service of the School District of Philadelphia, 1941.

[10] Harold J. Dillon, *Early School Leavers: A Major Educational Problem.* New York: Child Labor Committee, 1949.

[11] Howard C. Seymour and Carl E. Tremer, *We Left School a Year Ago.* Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester Public Schools, 1940.

[12] Syracuse Board of Education. *Syracuse Youth Who Did Not Graduate.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Research Division of Syracuse Board of Education, 1950.

viewed, and so only a part of the group is canvassed. The subjects for the Syracuse study were the students in grades 7 through 12 who had dropped out during the seven-semester period beginning with the fall semester of 1945–1946. The sampling procedures were as follows:[13]

The drop-outs' names and addresses were secured from the individual school records, arranged alphabetically by years or classes. Each fifth drop-out was selected and his name and address were typed on a 3 × 5 card. Each sixth drop-out in the same group was selected as an alternate to be interviewed in the event that the fifth drop-out could not be located. This method of selection insured that all socio-economic groups and racial groups could be sampled in about the proportion that their children withdrew from the public secondary schools.

A common finding from the studies of drop-outs is that many interviewees give dissatisfaction with school as a principal reason for withdrawal. Of the 440 drop-outs who cooperated in the Louisville study, for example, 209 stated that they left for this reason; 84 others gave it as a secondary reason, "making a total of 293, or seventy-seven per cent of all nongraduates interviewed, who left school wholly or partly because of dissatisfaction with some phase of school life."[14] In general, the specific

	Percentage of boys giving each reason	Percentage of girls giving each reason
Dissatisfaction with school......................	34	40
Lack of personal funds......................	26	31
Lure of a job......................	27	28
Family support......................	18	31
Inability to see relation between school subjects taken and future work......................	31	16
Felt self too old for grade......................	18	16
Inability to get along with teacher(s)......................	23	8
Inability to learn......................	10	17
School did not offer suitable subjects......................	13	10
Illness......................	6	12
Insufficient credits for graduation......................	9	7
Felt self too poor in comparison with others in class	2	7
Inability to get along with principal......................	6	1
Other......................	13	18

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[14] E. S. Johnson and C. L. Legg, "Why Young People Leave School," *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-school Principals*, 32:17, November, 1948.

reasons for withdrawal listed in the Syracuse report are not unlike the ones given in the reports on studies made in Louisville and elsewhere. The interview schedule used by the Syracuse interviewers contained 13 possible reasons and the additional category of "other." Many drop-outs gave more than one reason. The percentage of boys and girls giving each reason is shown in the table on page 196.[15]

The drop-outs' stories of their school and postschool experiences, their suggestions for making schools more helpful for boys and girls with problems similar to theirs, and their requests for postschool training and guidance may help the schools to meet the needs of youth more adequately in the future than they have done in the past. The follow-up studies show, among other things, that if the schools are to help reduce maladjustment among young people, there must be curricular and teaching adjustments to individual differences, more and better guidance services, and improved student-teacher relationships.

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[15] Syracuse Board of Education, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Self-reports: Self-appraisal
and Autobiographical Material

SELF-ANALYSIS

Decreased Use. Much more attention was given in the early literature on student personnel work than is being given today to the instruments used for helping students to analyze themselves, such as score cards, self-rating scales, and questionnaires in which a student is asked to give an estimate of his abilities and to express his judgment regarding the extent to which he possesses or fails to possess certain traits and interests. The current literature indicates that there has been a shift from trying to help a student to understand himself by asking him to appraise his assets and liabilities and then report his findings to trying to help him to acquire insight and self-understanding by giving him an opportunity to discuss his problems and plans with a counselor or in a group of his peers, to share as far as possible the information gathered on him, and to participate in the evaluating and reporting of his progress.

The recent reports on studies of self-rating substantiate the findings of the earlier investigations by Hollingworth, Allport, Hoffman, Shen, Adams, Hurlock, Conrad, and others to the effect that self-ratings are low in validity and reliability, that individuals tend to overrate themselves on the desirable traits and to underrate themselves on the undesirable, that superior individuals often underrate themselves and inferior individuals often overrate themselves, that the intelligent tend to underrate themselves less than the unintelligent tend to overrate themselves, and that college students rate themselves more accurately than junior-high-school students rate themselves.

The continued reporting of such findings is, no doubt, one reason why less attention is given to self-ratings in the recent literature than in earlier books by Brewer, Koos and Kefauver, Myers, and others. Jones, for example, in the second edition of his *Principles of Guidance,*[1] devoted some nine pages to the subject of "self-analysis blanks," reproduced Brewer's

[1] A. J. Jones, *Principles of Guidance,* 2d ed., pp. 182–192. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934.

Vocational Score Card, and presented, in part, the elaborate blank developed for the Boys' Work Division of the International Committee of the YMCA. In the third and fourth editions (1945 and 1951) of his book, however, Jones does not list the terms "self-analysis" and "rating scales" in the index; nor does he refer to such instruments in the chapter entitled *Personality Estimates and Interest Inventories*.

A second reason, perhaps, for the decreased emphasis upon self-ratings in the current literature, and apparently also in practice, is the fact that teachers realize more than they once did that having a student admit (or informing him if he does not admit) that he is self-centered, shy, or rude, or something else that is not desirable contributes little to correction. One shy self-conscious girl, for example, may be fully aware of her shyness and may readily admit it. Another one equally aware of being shy and self-conscious may deny her shyness and may even rate herself as high in social adjustment. A teacher or counselor may contribute nothing to the solution of either girl's problems by discussing with her the rating that she has given herself with respect to social adjustment, leadership, and related characteristics. For one or both girls the problem may be only aggravated by such a discussion. The assistance needed by each may be best provided through counseling that helps the girl to think through her problem and consider what she can do about it, through helping others—teachers and students—to understand and to accept the girl, through aiding the girl to acquire self-confidence by helping her to gain certain social skills, through creating opportunities for the girl to take part in as many group activities as possible, and through assisting her to advance from minor roles in simple activities to important roles in complex activities.

The process leading to self-understanding and action on the part of such a girl may be a long, slow, tedious one; but it will lead to a solution that is more effective and more lasting than any that is likely to be obtained merely through asking the girl whether she is shy always, generally, sometimes, or never or through asking her whether she prefers to work with people or with things; whether she would rather listen to, take part in, or lead a discussion; and whether it bothers her to have people watch her while she works.

A third probable reason for the decreased use of self-analysis blanks, such as score cards, self-rating forms, and teacher-made questionnaires in which the student is asked to appraise himself is, no doubt, the increased number and the increased use of standardized scales or inventories in which the student states his likes and dislikes, preferences, beliefs, and attitudes, and tells how he feels or reacts in certain situations. The students' responses on these scales are used by others, not by the student, for appraising his social adjustment, personality traits, interests, behavior patterns, and the like.

Usefulness. Self-ratings are not a source of very reliable information about students, and they do not provide a sound basis for helping students to select and to plan. The chief value of such instruments is in their usefulness for helping to show how well a student understands himself and his ability to achieve certain professed goals. They may have some value for helping to stimulate students to consider seriously their strengths and weaknesses, to give thought to certain behavior characteristics important to success and happiness, and to see the need for eliminating certain socially undesirable traits and for developing behavior patterns that are acceptable.

One specialist[2] in vocational guidance recommends the practice of having students check themselves through use of the same scales that their teachers use in rating them. She recommends that the student name some teacher for whom he has worked during the semester as the one to rate him and that he be the one to give the rating blank to the teacher. By finding it necessary to rate himself, the student, Forrester states, "may be brought face to face with his weaknesses with the result that he may take immediate steps to reduce them." She also says that the qualifications required of workers in various fields "will be brought home more forcibly" to the student if he asks the teacher to rate him and that the teacher's evaluation of his personality traits can also be used "to stimulate him to take steps necessary for self-improvement." These are the reasons traditionally advanced in vocational guidance for the use of self-analysis blanks—to inform and to motivate. Some examples of the most commonly used self-rating devices are considered in the following section.

Self-rating Scales. Self-analysis instruments, especially self-rating scales, are still discussed in the guidance literature although not so much as formerly. In some discussions the scales developed for use in certain schools are shown. These illustrations are usually less elaborate than the ones given in the earlier literature. Most frequently the scales contain items in the form of questions, such as "Are you reliable?" which the student answers by checking one of several possible answers that may range from "almost never" or "not usually" to "very reliable" or the like. Check lists, however, are also used at times and in addition to questions rather than instead of them. The student is usually instructed to underline the traits, named in the list, that he considers to be descriptive or most characteristic of himself. The check lists generally contain both positive terms, such as "creative," "reliable," and "ambitious," and negative terms, such as "lazy," "selfish," "conceited," "thoughtless," and "overly aggressive." In some lists the negative terms outnumber the positive.

In reporting to parents, some schools use forms that provide for ap-

[2] Gertrude Forrester, *Methods of Vocational Guidance*, rev. ed., p. 335. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1951.

praisal of a student's progress in terms of social adjustment and personality as well as in subject-matter achievement. Also, in some schools the students help the teachers to prepare such reports. In these schools self-rating scales are sometimes used to help the student to make his evaluation and to see where he may need to seek improvement. Both the student and the teacher can, no doubt, do a better job of appraising the student's progress in terms of information, specific skills, and amount of participation rather than in terms of personality and quality of participation.

A student can, for example, probably use fairly well a scale on which he indicates the extent of his participation in recreational activities by encircling one of several given numbers. One such scale contains 20 items,

Activities	None	Almost none	Some	Much	Very much	Points
1. Swimming	1	2	3	4	5	
2. Diving	1	2	3	4	5	
3. Canoeing, boating, and sailing	1	2	3	4	5	
4. Gymnastics, (circus) stunts	1	2	3	4	5	
5. Tumbling	1	2	3	4	5	

FIG. 19. Self-rating scale for pupil participation in recreational activities. (T. K. Cureton et al., "The Measurement of Understanding in Physical Education," Forty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, p. 240. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. Quoted by permission of the Society.)

of which the first 5 are shown in Figure 19. The teacher as well as the student, however, will have difficulty in determining which rating to assign the student in using a scale which contains such questions as "Do I have confidence in myself?" "Do I face reality?" "Do I have emotional control?" and "Do I depend on others?"

Some self-rating scales, like some anecdotal reports, indicate that the criteria for some teachers' judgments of students are the students' succeeding in school work and being a helping rather than a disturbing force in the classroom. On one self-rating scale, for example, the student is instructed to rate himself by answering in terms of frequency a series of questions concerning "responsibility," "inquiring mind," "social concern," and "work habits." The questions used in the scale stress such things as being ready to start work on time, listening to directions, and following instructions. These things are important; but, in stressing them and not including questions on certain other matters, the authors and users of

such scales may be reacting too strongly against behavior that interferes with (or in favor of behavior that contributes to) the teachers' comfort or convenience and may be giving insufficient consideration to some other matters equally important to the development of the student.

In this particular scale the four questions in the section on "inquiring mind" ask the student whether he reads directions before asking questions, does more work than is required, uses the library regularly, and brings to class things related to classwork. Two of the four questions in the section on "social concern" ask the student whether he shows an active interest in every class activity and whether he keeps order in his part of the room by behaving. Now, if the student answers the questions in this scale honestly, the scale may show the extent to which he conforms to classroom regulations; but it is not likely to offer very much information of real value concerning his understanding of himself—understanding of his abilities, deficiencies, interests, and personality. Moreover, it is possible that this type of self-rating may cause some students to develop wrong ideas regarding the nature of "social concern," "inquiring mind," "responsibility," and "good work habits."

Inventories. Some self-analysis scales are described as "inventories." One that is used in the Los Angeles schools for identification of interests provides for ratings of the student by a "best friend" and by parents as well as for rating by himself. Some writers[2] say that a student may be able to identify latent interests which he did not realize he possessed as a result of his obtaining the judgments of his best friend and parents. These writers also state that the ratings by others may help the student to select a vocation because, if the ratings given him by parents and best friends are similar to his own, he may feel reasonably sure that he perceives his interests correctly. It is possible, however, that both the student and his best friend accept without question the parents' statements regarding the student or that parents and best friend accept uncritically the student's analysis of his interests and abilities. Nevertheless, the student's securing ratings from friend and parents does help him to give serious thought to the interests that he would most like to utilize and satisfy through his lifework. His discussing such matters with others who have cooperated in an analysis of his interests may help him to think more clearly than he has before regarding vocational interests in general and his own in particular.

Self-analysis instruments in the form of inventories were used in the California Adolescent Growth Study. In one report based on the records obtained over a seven-year period on one boy—"John Sanders"—Jones states that the source which offered "the most clearly comparable evidence for successive years" consisted of John's responses to the Personal-

[2] H. W. Magnuson *et al., Evaluating Pupil Progress,* p. 107. Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1952.

Social Inventory which was administered annually. Based in part upon tests by Rogers and by Symonds and Jackson, the inventory includes such items as the following:[4]

Read the sentences below, and the questions that follow them. If the answer to a question is "yes," put a check mark on "yes." If the answer is "no," put a mark on "no." If the true answer is somewhere between yes and no, put the mark where it will be most true.

B. is a big strong boy who can beat any of the other boys in a fight.

Am I just like him? | Yes | | | | | | | | | | No |

D. is the best ball player in the school.

Am I just like him? | Yes | | | | | | | | | | No |

K. has more girl friends than any of the other fellows.

Am I just like him? | Yes | | | | | | | | | | No |

John's responses on the Personal-Social Inventory revealed a sense of his own deficiencies, some of his aspirations, something regarding the quality of his family relationships, and some of his attitudes toward school. Jones reported the following to be "among the tendencies which became apparent in this material:"[5]

1. The acknowledgment, to a very unusual degree, of personal deficiencies.

2. The expression, on the other hand, of somewhat extravagant wishes to be outstanding in a wide range of personal characteristics.

3. The use of various protective devices, singly or in combination: fantasy, self-inflation, denial of emotional involvement, and, at critical times, the denial of deficiencies which at other times were freely admitted.

A student's responses on a personal-social inventory cannot, as Jones points out, "be used in a routine manner, or in terms of any fixed specifications as to what adjustment scores 'mean.' The chief value of the inventory lies in the possibility of studying significant agreements and disagreements among individual items, and also in the detailed comparison of the self-report with information from other sources." Few schools have the financial resources needed for securing "comparable evidence" through the annual use of such inventories or have staff members qualified to study and interpret the responses of individual students to individual items.

Student-kept Records. In some schools an effort has been made to help students appraise themselves and their plans by having them keep cumulative record booklets or folders in which they enter from time to time

[4] H. E. Jones, *Development in Adolescence*, pp. 131–151. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1943. Used by permission of the publishers.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

information about themselves. An excellent example of this type of guidance record is one developed for use in a large city school system. This record booklet, designed for use over a four-year period (grades 9 through 12), includes helpful information, such as an analysis of six major occupational fields and a list of the school curricula preparatory for each, as well as sections in which the student records items about his personal history (home life, travel, health, previous education, work experience), family history, prevocational planning, special interests (organizations, sports, hobbies, reading interests, special recognitions and awards), objective analysis of special abilities (results from tests of special abilities and aptitudes, academic achievement, physical fitness, and personality), a summary of occupational indices (vocational interests, high-school curriculum, highest marks, work experiences, occupational choice, plans for further training), occupational readiness, high-school educational plan, and post-high-school vocational plan.

This guidance record for student use is attractive and carefully planned. It provides for the recording of many items of information of definite value to most students in appraising themselves and their plans. Relatively little use, however, seems to have been made of the record in the school system for which it was developed and apparently for the same reason that little use is made elsewhere of some other good records —a lack of time because of the lack of a sufficiently large staff. This type of student-kept cumulative record has little value for the average student unless there is someone in the school to help him by supervising his record-keeping, by going over the entries and discussing their possible implications with him, by raising questions regarding neglected points of pertinent information, by serving as a source of needed information, and by referring him to other sources of help. Self-analysis cannot be used as a substitute for counseling; neither can it be used very effectively without counseling.

Self-understanding. Self-analysis as commonly provided for in the schools is more useful for yielding some evidence regarding a student's self-understanding than for helping a student to acquire self-understanding. To gain self-understanding a student needs more help than a teacher can provide merely by explaining the terms used in a rating scale and then having the student use the scale as a yardstick with which to measure himself. The teacher can, however, provide some of the assistance needed by using curricular opportunities for helping students to gain an understanding of human problems and motives and by giving him a chance to explore his own problems and motives. For example, history, as Jersild*

* A. T. Jersild, *In Search of Self: An Exploration of the Role of the School in Promoting Self-understanding*, p. 103. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

says, "provides a rich opportunity for helping learners to examine some of their own motives as they identify themselves emotionally with this or that hero or cause, or express their fears of inferiority feelings, or vent their hostilities by proxy upon historical characters and events."

A student's using a self-rating device may lead to little more than a condemnation of self and to discouragement and confusion regarding the potential, whereas his sharing in a group discussion may lead to a realistic understanding of self. When the participants "actually communicate and commune with one another," the group discussion becomes a good learning situation:[7]

In such a discussion the participant may be more eager to find wherein he is foolish than to present himself as someone who is wise. He will dare to say something which in the next instant even to him seems stupid but which he does not need to excuse or to feel ashamed about. He will not hesitate to exaggerate, sometimes grossly and shamelessly, because the exaggeration, which he himself immediately recognizes as such, is an exaggeration of what properly might be thought on the subject but not an exaggeration of the way he feels about the subject.

Jersild says that "by providing some of the standards by which young people judge themselves the school may, in a relatively passive role, reflect some of the unhealthy tendencies in our society."[8] Through careless use of self-rating devices that emphasize control of the emotions the schools may foster one of the unwholesome tendencies that Jersild discusses at length in his report on an inquiry into the role of the school in promoting self-understanding. The report is based in part upon data obtained from compositions written by some 3,000 students from grade 4 through college on the topics of "What I like about myself" and "What I dislike about myself." In telling what they disliked about themselves, many students mentioned characteristics or behavior that indicate a lack of poise or self-control. According to Jersild,[9] these students, in emphasizing the control or concealment of emotions, reflect the idea of control commonly stressed in the schools and show the influence of training "designed to persuade them not to be 'emotional.'"

Such training leads students to think of self-control as being the negation of emotions rather than "a wholesome integration of thinking and feeling, an ability to take a larger view of things, so that one is not continually being swayed by inconsistent whims and impulses," and "an ability to respond in a way that is fitting, in a manner that shows that one can take responsibility, can relate oneself to others, and has at one's command...

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 97–98.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 92.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. 87.

mand a good store of feelings for self and for others."[10] Many teachers and, hence, many students consider control or concealment of emotions to be emotional maturity; but, as Jersild explains:[11]

A person can exercise considerable control over his emotions, and still be infantile, and a cold fish, to boot. What looks like control of emotion may not be control but absence of emotion because the person has never grown up. He has not matured in his ability to relate himself wholeheartedly to others. He has led so threadbare a life that he cannot weep with compassion, for he feels none, nor rise in anger when he is abused or sees others abused, for in his anxiety to protect himself from the anger of others he has surrendered his own right to anger.

. . . Emotional maturity means the degree to which the person has realized his potentiality for richness of living and has developed his capacity to enjoy things; to love wholeheartedly; to laugh; to feel genuine sorrow; to feel anger when faced with thwartings that would rile the temper of any sensible person; to experience fear when there is occasion to be frightened without the false mask of courage which must be assumed by those who are so frightened that they dare not reveal to others or admit to themselves that they are afraid.

In discussing the findings with regard to social attitudes and certain other matters, Jersild presents material which, like that on self-control, indicates that, in evaluating themselves, students at times may be only "paying their respects to the kind of conformity that is expected of them." At such times their self-analyses may show more a denial of self than an understanding of self.

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

In many schools it is customary to have new students write their autobiographies. Sometimes the students prepare the autobiographies shortly before they graduate from the lower schools. There they are told that their papers will be sent to their future counselors or homeroom teachers and are urged to tell all about themselves. These compositions give the workers in the next school some information about the incoming students and also furnish them a sample of the students' work.

Usually, however, the request for an autobiography is made in the new school and by the teachers of English. With the students' knowledge and consent the autobiographies are passed on to their counselors and eventually may be filed in their folders. If the students' counselors are not strangers to them, the students will probably be as willing to have their papers read by their counselors as they are to have them read by their English teachers. Should, however, any students be reluctant for their

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

autobiographies or other papers to be read by anyone other than the teachers for whom they write them, their wishes should, of course, be respected.

Sometimes autobiographies are written in group guidance classes, instead of English classes. Also, sometimes it is the counselor, instead of a class teacher, who asks a student to write the story of his life. Obviously, the request should be made by only one person. A student should not have to write the story of his life several times during the same school year. Once should be enough. Furthermore, it is important that the request for the autobiography be delayed until the new student has been in the school sufficiently long to feel at ease—at least a month. If a student is asked to write his autobiography at the very beginning of his stay in a new school, the natural desire to put his best foot forward may influence unduly the account of his past. The desire to make a good impression will, no doubt, influence the writings of some students as long as they are in the school. Nevertheless, as the students come to feel secure in the new situation and at home with the other students and the teachers, many of them will feel free to be themselves and to report truthfully what they do and think.

In filling out an elaborate personal data questionnaire which calls for information about family, home, travel, health, work experiences, education, and the like, students are really writing their autobiographies. When such questionnaires are not used for obtaining background information from students, many counselors look for such information in the students' autobiographies. To make certain that the autobiographies include the information wanted, they may supply lists of questions or topics that are to be covered in the students' accounts. The items listed are generally similar to the ones included in the personal data questionnaire, items such as the ones included in the student-kept guidance record described above.

If, however, factual information about students is sought primarily through conferences with the students, their parents, and former teachers; through study of records from the schools previously attended; and through observation and other procedures, the autobiography can be used for more for gaining some understanding of a student's inner world than for ascertaining the facts regarding his outer world. To learn the events of a student's inner life—his wishes, aspirations, prejudices, frustrations, conflicts, hopes, and subjective impulses—it is important that the student give a relatively free-flowing account, that his report not be too closely structured by a topical outline or specific questions.

For most students the general request that they write a full account of their lives, in which they just let their thoughts go, is sufficient. For some, however, such instructions are too vague; something more definite is

needed. It will be helpful for all students if their attention is directed to the two types of data wanted: (1) objective data regarding experiences in family, school, and play groups and relations in neighborhood, church, and elsewhere in the community; and (2) subjective data regarding their sources of satisfactions, likes and dislikes, aspirations, values, and so forth. Group discussion is ordinarily more useful than formal instructions for helping students to understand the kind of autobiography they are to write. Patterns or examples should not be offered, however; for they may serve to block or to mold expression rather than to free it.

It is desirable to give students at least a week in which to write their autobiographies. More significant material is likely to be given by the students if they have time to think over the assignment than if they have to write their accounts on short notice. Moreover, giving students time in which to meditate and to decide what they will tell and how they will tell it aids self-evaluation as well as good writing. Planning and writing their life histories will help some students to clarify their feelings, attitudes, and goals and may even help them to perceive the reasons for some feelings and the causes of some conflicts. The effects of writing about oneself, as of talking about oneself, can be supportive, cathartic, and insightful.

While it is not usually desirable to ask a student to write his autobiography more than once during any school year, it is often desirable to ask the students when they become seniors to write their autobiographies again. Comparison of the second accounts with the first ones may disclose patterns of growth, gains made in social adjustment and emotional maturity, changes in interests and appreciations, increase in understanding of self and others, and general progress toward maturity. In the autobiographies written during their last year in a school many students tend to appraise both themselves and the school. The might-have-beens should-have-beens, and could-have-beens as well as the actual achievements of both are sometimes listed. Both the school and the students may profit from this taking of stock.

Autobiographies have the same limitations with respect to validity and reliability that personal data questionnaires and other self-reports have. Also, as in the case of the others, the validity and reliability of the autobiography are determined in part by the conditions under which it is written. The more secure and happy the student, the more likely he is to report fully and accurately. The more unhappy and insecure the student, the more likely he is to protect himself through fantasy, rationalization, identification, and other mechanisms. If the counselor is the person who asks the student to write his life story, and if the student is told to report in his own way the things that he considers important, and if the student

knows that he will have an opportunity to discuss his account with a counselor in whom he has confidence, he may write an autobiography that serves as a good source of material for an accurate diagnosis of his special needs and concerns.

THE DAILY RECORD

Students are often asked to work out plans for budgeting their time. They may receive mimeographed forms to use for this purpose, or they may make their own forms by marking off notebook paper into sections in which they show what they plan to do each hour of each day of the week. The students are expected to try out and revise their plans until they develop time budgets that seem to be satisfactory for general use. The time budgets of students are like the money budgets of many of their elders—more often broken than kept. They do have value, however, in helping students to see the importance of planning and of trying to make good use of their time.

In order that the students as well as their counselors may know how the time is actually spent, students are frequently asked to keep for a certain period daily records in which they tell what they do at each hour and report in diary style what they thought or felt at the time. Even though the period of time covered may be only a week, these hour-by-hour records are valuable for showing the general pattern of a student's life, the activities in which he is currently engaged regularly, and some of his special interests. Like other self-report material, the information given in the daily records may be exceedingly inaccurate. The student may not report what he actually does but, instead, what he would like to do or what he believes his teachers and parents think he should be doing. Fantasy and self-interest rather than truth may furnish the basis for the report.

If the student-counselor relations are sound and strong and if the student has found that the counselor is able to accept the facts of student life undisturbed, that he does not always feel compelled to point a moral or to label things as "good" or "bad," they may report correctly how they spend their days and what they think and feel with respect to the activities that occupy their time. The information given under such conditions may prove a valuable supplement to the material already obtained, and the new data may give new meaning to the old by bringing into focus certain details not noticed before.

The hour-by-hour diary record was one of the procedures used in gathering information on certain cases included in the Study of Adolescents, conducted by the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum.

The three-day record given below is taken from "The Case of Betty" contained in one report:[12]

Time	What I did	Remarks
Friday		
7:25	Woke up and went downstairs after getting dressed to meet the bus.	Was very sleepy
9:00	Had my Latin class—same as usual.	Was very bored
2:30	Left school with Ralph. We got a lift down the hill.	
3:30	I had my exercises and was on time for once.	
5:00	My piano lesson was a little late and I was rather tired. Didn't eat until late.	
8:00 10:00	After dinner I listened to the radio until I went to sleep.	Very sleepy
Saturday		
9:00	Woke up early because I had to have my hair done. The door bell woke me up.	Very tired
12:30	My hair was not dry when I went out. Arrived at my friend's house where we had lunch.	
2:30	After lunch went down town and had our pictures taken. We also did some shopping. We saw a movie. It was called "Private Worlds" and was rather good.	They are terrible
11:30	Got to bed.	
Sunday		
11:00	Woke up not so early and after getting dressed was told I was going on a picnic.	Not so excited
1:00	We left the house and met the other people we were going with. When we were half over the bridge it began to rain. We kept on anyway.	
2:30 5:00	After eating dinner in the car and playing in the rain we went home.	We were very hungry
5:30 9:30	I did my homework, listened to the radio, read a little and went to bed.	

Taken by itself this diary is not without meaning. When combined with the rest of the material on the case, it helps to show Betty as a girl "crav-

[12] Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*, pp. 46–47. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941. Used by permission of the publishers.

ing for acceptance, attention, and love" and to disclose "a state of inner combat in which divergent tendencies are at work and lead unavoidably to failure and defeat." The interpretation of the diary, as given in the report,[13] includes the following:

Betty's diary . . . is impressive by virtue of its monotony and the lack of personal coloring which prevails in the column "What I did." This is especially true in comparison with the diaries of others, and also with the remainder of Betty's own writings. The latter contrast reflects her twofold and widely divergent modes of experience: fantasy life versus daily personal routine. Listed in the diary is a sequence of facts, reported in such a way that school, piano lessons, radio, dinner, shopping, and picnic seem to happen to her as strange and impersonal incidents. They scarcely stimulate Betty to any remarks; it is as if they had not released in her any responses which might overcome her inertia sufficiently to be put down on paper. It is interesting to group all the remarks together. They read: "Was very sleepy. Was very bored. Very sleepy. Very tired. They are terrible. Not so excited. We were very hungry." All these remarks are negative; they express only unpleasant feelings or disappointments. This is very characteristic for Betty; the only sensations which she can remember are the unpleasant ones. This trend, expressed in some of her other writings as well, suggests that some unknown defeat or disappointment, hitherto unrecognized, has injured her self-confidence and optimism severely. This, of course, is speculation, expressed only in the search for a probable explanation. At least it does show how Betty's indifferent, diffident, and defeated attitude at school carries over into her entire daily life.

It should be noted that the research workers point out that their interpretation may be, in part, no more than speculation. A similar caution should be observed by student personnel workers. Interpretation should be sought, and hypotheses should be offered, but the hypotheses should be considered provisional, and the speculative nature of the interpretation should be acknowledged. Otherwise, justification will be given for such protests as those made by Liebman[14] who warns against the "amount of damage which may be accomplished by the salting and peppering of meaningless, yet impressive, words upon the records" of students by well-intentioned teachers, as in the following examples: "She is sometimes quiet and retiring which indicates that she is an introvert. She isn't particularly interested in associating with the members of her class which indicates that she is poorly adjusted. Her work of the last term is not commensurate with her ability which indicates that she is disinterested in school work."

It should also be noted that in her diary Betty failed to report on many hours and that she left out some details, such as the particular radio pro-

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 50–51.
[14] R. R. Liebman, "Let's Quit Being Amateur Psychiatrists," *Clearing House,* 25: 217, December, 1950.

gram listened to, which some counselors might like to know. The fact, however, that Betty kept her diary as she did may be more significant than the omitted information. If students are asked to keep and turn in hour-by-hour records, it is well not to treat these reports like certain other assignments. If an hour-by-hour report is made a requirement and detailed information is insisted upon, the chances are increased that inaccurate reporting will result.

SOME OTHER WRITINGS

Not all the writings that students do for classes in English, social studies, and other subjects serve as sources of information about them. Little may be learned, for example, about a student from his descriptive theme on "Christmas in England during the Time of Addison and Steele" if the student leaves himself out of the picture. If, however, he puts himself into the picture through evaluative statements, identifications, and the like, as much may be learned about the student as about what he read in *The Spectator*. Likewise, if a student gives in a book report no more than a synopsis, little may be learned about the student through reading his book report. If, however, he writes a review in which he reports his reactions and tells what he considers significant in the book, much may be learned about the student—his interests, philosophy, maturity level, and the like.

Poems, essays, reviews of books selected by the student rather than assigned by a teacher, and themes written on such topics as "My Summer Experiences," "My Three Wishes," "How I Have Changed during Three Years," "Some Changes Needed in Hometown," and the like generally yield important material. Such writings should be studied for their personal data value as well as for their value as evidence of the student's skill in writing and expression.

The personal data contained in students' writings is increased when students are encouraged to use classwork for exploring matters of interest and special concern to them individually. A good illustration is found in a report that Murray[15] gives of a plan followed in a basic communication class at Denver University for providing students laboratory practice in communication and human relations. Early in the semester students were "encouraged to hand in written case descriptions of situations" in which they were having difficulty and with which they desired help. While the principal procedures used for giving help with the problem situations were those of sociodrama, writing projects "were used to 'prime' the class

    [15] Elwood Murray, "Sociodrama and Psychodrama in the College Basic Communication Class," in R. B. Hass, editor, *Psychodrama and Sociodrama in American Education*, pp. 322–329. New York: Beacon House, 1949.

in order that the students would indicate their larger problems of writing."
One writing project was, in part, as follows:

The class will be divided into pairs for the carrying on of correspondence.
The correspondence between each pair may be carried on throughout the
length of course or other specified time, or until a termination satisfactory to
both students is achieved. Each member of the class may be a member of more
than one pair if this is desired. Ordinarily a person should be paired with
another person who has a widely different background. The following are
examples of the sort of subjects about which correspondence might be car-
ried on:

   a. The problems of democracy in this school.

   b. Your chief problems of communication and interpersonal relations.

   c. The advantages and disadvantages of the vocations we (two) have
selected.

Letters that are not written as a part of class work but are written vol-
untarily and spontaneously under the usual conditions of personal cor-
respondence ordinarily contain more biographical material than letters
written as an assignment. When the counselor-counselee relationship is
personalized, a student may write to his counselor during the time that he
is not attending school because of vacation, illness, or other reasons. Some
students may even write notes to their counselors while at school because
they find it easier to say in writing than orally that which they wish to
tell the counselor. In their letters to adults whom they admire, like, and
look upon as friends, students often write as freely of their activities and
thoughts as they sometimes do in the diaries kept for their own reading
only. Like diaries, such letters are confidential personal documents and
should always be accepted as such.

Because in the past their letters may have been accepted with more
understanding and tolerance (with respect to language usage in par-
ticular) than have been their compositions, some students write better on
the same subject when writing letters than when writing themes. Know-
ing this, some teachers often have students write letters about themselves,
their school, and community, instead of writing compositions on these
subjects. Counselors will usually find theme letters and diaries in the form
of daily time records written for stated purposes related to class or school
life less dangerous to use and easier to interpret than letters and diaries
of a personal, confidential nature.

Ideally a summary should be prepared of the data obtained each year
on a student through his writings, and the summary should be filed in the
student's cumulative record folder. Also, ideally, the summary should be
prepared by the student's counselor who has received for this purpose the
student's writings from other teachers. The person who writes the sum-

mary must always take care, as Eurich and Wrenn[16] caution, not to read into it too much from their "own aspirations, fears, and emotional sensitivities."

The more background information counselors collect on their counselees, the better they may be able to see them as "whole persons," and the better they may understand what can be expected of these persons. But they should never expect to have full understanding through analysis and diagnosis of such material. As Munroe[17] points out, there are "no shortcuts to diagnosis via information concerning the details of a student's background." Munroe does not, however, underestimate the value of such material or the importance of attempting interpretation. She believes that "the chances of keeping our sense of direction in a fog are increased by using what eyesight we have rather than deliberately excluding the aid our limited vision can offer."[18] She concludes, nevertheless, on the basis of an intensive study made of certain girls at Sarah Lawrence College, that[19]

> For the present, at least, it does not seem possible to arrive at adequate hypotheses as to what to expect of a student on the basis of specific elements in her background. As teachers we lack both opportunity to uncover sufficient information and sufficient insight or skill to make use of the history we have in any systematic way. It is too easy to make snap judgments about students on the basis of some fragment of their history and a theoretical knowledge of current psychological interpretations. The way of true understanding is more painstaking and inclusive, more narrowly focused on the particular individual with whom we are dealing. . . .

To have learned to be cautious about making interpretations from isolated fragments of background data is a positive gain.

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[16] A. C. Eurich and C. G. Wrenn, "Appraisal of Student Characteristics and Needs," *Thirty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I, p. 66. Chicago: distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1938.

[17] Ruth L. Munroe, *Teaching the Individual*, p. 154. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

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*Analysis of the Individual's
Position and Status
within the Group*

Through the use of various types of observation reports we can learn something regarding teachers' opinions of a particular student; and through the use of inventories, self-ratings, creative writings, and the like we can learn something regarding a student's opinion of himself. We also need to know, however, the extent to which the student is accepted by his peers—his reputation among associates of his own age, his position and status in such groups as classes, teams, and clubs. The importance of this type of information is often not sufficiently well recognized.

Participation in a group results in a gain or a loss to individual growth as well as to group life in accordance with the emotional climate or atmosphere of the group. Inadequate discordant group life spells a loss in personality development; harmonious satisfying group life brings release of strengths and development of potentialities. The quantity and quality of the student's relations with other students determine in a large measure the quantity and quality of his various learnings—academic, social, and personal. Every group serves as a learning laboratory, and the peer group is the most important setting in which learning occurs. The student learns best in the peer group in which he is comfortable because he feels that he belongs, is accepted, wanted, and appreciated. He is frustrated in learning when he is in a group in which he feels that he is more endured than enjoyed, does not feel accepted, and may even at times feel rejected or excluded.

To be able to help a student find a comfortable place in the school society, workers need to know not only a student's social needs but also his acceptances and rejections of others and by others, the extent to which he exerts influence upon others, and his expectations and values in terms of human relations. They can obtain some of this information through

observations and reports from others. They can usually obtain, however, more adequate and more accurate information through the use of opinion tests and sociometric procedures that disclose the patterns of belonging within the peer groups of which the student is a member.

SOCIOMETRY

When data from sociometric techniques are employed as a basis for organizing or reorganizing groups to the psychological advantage of all members, certain arbitrary and artificial barriers between students can be gradually done away with; and cleavages can be destroyed—cleavages between boys and girls, between slow and fast learners, and between students of different cultural origins, national backgrounds, and socioeconomic levels. Hence, in addition to the release of intellectual abilities and the development of personality, other important outcomes may be expected from sociometric groupings—increased and improved interpersonal and intergroup communication leading usually to increased intercultural and interracial understanding and appreciation, a shift from rivalry to collaboration with individual efforts being more closely related to group concern, and a redirection of the learning processes as individual members are induced through social motivation to strive to achieve to capacity.

The sociometric techniques were devised by Moreno[1] and adapted by Jennings[2] for study of students in a classroom situation. They probably provide the most useful method yet developed for studying the social structure of a group and its patterns of belonging. Interest in the use of these techniques in the public schools has been greatly stimulated by the American Council on Education three-year experimental study[3] in intergroup education, which has shown the value of sociometry for promoting the emotional development and social adjustment of individual students.

The Sociometric Test

The sociometric question permits a student to reveal his personal feelings for others through his choice of the group members whom he wishes to be with in particular situations. Each member is asked to name the ones with whom he wants to associate for some common purpose. He may be asked, for example, to name, in the order of preference, three stu-

dents with whom he would like to play on a team or work on a committee or share a table at lunch time.

Reality Value of the Choice Criterion. Investigations by Byrd[4] and others support the hypothesis stressed by Jennings[5] and supported by her own extensive research that the sociometric test is valid to the extent that the choice criterion has reality value for the subjects. For the results to be useful for showing the pattern of social relations in the group, the students must have confidence that their choices will be used for the purpose expressed; and the purpose must be one that is important to them. Unless they feel that they are choosing for an actual situation of definite significance to them, they may not express choices that are in keeping with their real feelings toward one another.

If, for example, a teacher, when first using the sociometric test with his class, makes the criterion "sitting in proximity," most of the students, wishing to sit near friends and not, perhaps, near certain other students, will express their real feelings. If this teacher, however, only asks the question because he wishes to find out which students are most liked and least liked by the others and if he does not change the seating arrangement in keeping with the test results, the students will lose confidence in both the teacher and the test. Should this teacher later use another sociometric question with the group, the results from the second test may be exceedingly low in validity; for the students have good reason to doubt that they will be grouped as indicated.

Likewise, if the criterion for the sociometric question is "going to the movies," the validity of the results will be in keeping with the reality value of this question for the students. If they are told to name the three persons whom they prefer to go with to see a movie to be shown at school and if they know that the teacher is able to make their choices effective, the question has real significance for them. If, however, they are asked to name the persons whom they would like to go with to see a movie shown in town and know that the teacher is not planning to invite them to a movie party but merely wants to know with whom they would like to go if they had the opportunity, some students will not name their real preferences because they do not think that they will ever have an opportunity to go to the movies with the students preferred.

The basis of choice must be real, not hypothetical. Therefore, to be a true sociometric question, a specific criterion, such as sitting near, rooming with, playing with, or working with others in a particular situation, must be used. Such questions as "Who are your best friends?" are not

[4] Eugene Byrd, "A Study of Validity and Constancy of Choices in a Sociometric Test," *Sociometry,* 14:175–181, May–August, 1951.

[5] Helen H. Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation,* rev. ed., Chap. 1. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1950.

actually sociometric questions. They do have, however, some diagnostic value and may be designated as *"near-sociometric"* questions.[6] When a true sociometric question is used, changes in group arrangements should be made soon. The students should know that action is to be taken shortly and not at some vague indefinite time in the future.

Administration of the Test Question. The validity of the test results also depends in part upon the way in which the question is worded and administered. Students are usually asked to *write their names at the top of* slips or cards provided for the purpose, to draw a line, and then to write below the line in their rank order the names of the students with whom they prefer to be in some specific situation. The word "test" is avoided; for to most students "test" implies "right" and "wrong" answers. Its use may cause some students to try to give the "right" answers, instead of the correct ones.

The form of the question is more easily illustrated than explained. The following illustration from Jennings'[7] is the statement used with a high-school social-studies class.

We are going to need committees to work on such and such problems. Each of you knows with whom you enjoy working most. These may be the same people with whom you work in other classes, or they may be different, so remember that we are talking about social studies. Put your name at the top of the page and numbers 1, 2, and 3 on lines below. Opposite "1" put the name of a boy or girl with whom you would most like to work, after "2" your second choice, and after "3" your third. I will keep all the choices in mind and arrange the committees so that everyone will be with one or more of the three people named. Remember, you may choose a boy or girl who is absent today if you want to. Write down the last names as well as the first names so that I'll be sure to know whom you mean. As usual, we shall probably be working in these committees for eight weeks, or until the Christmas holidays.

An allowance of three to five choices is usually sufficient to reveal the relative position of an individual in the group. Research indicates that permitting an unlimited number of choices apparently does not change the relative positions of the group members. Three investigators[8] found, for example, that increasing the number of choices from five to seven did not produce significant changes in the picture of the group structure. As summarized by Jennings,[9] the individuals, "who attract the greater por-

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[6] Editorial comment in George Forland and J. W. Wrightstone, "Sociometric and Self-descriptive Technics in Appraisal of Pupil Adjustment," *Sociometry*, 14.341, December, 1951.

[7] Jennings and staff of Intergroup Education, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[8] W. L. Newstetter *et al., Group Adjustment,* p. 43, Cleveland: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1938.

[9] Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation,* p. 19.

tion of the choices on the basis of a small choice allowance, continue still to profit disproportionately under the larger choice allowance, and the number of individuals unchosen under the first condition is not substantially reduced under the second condition."

At times it is desirable to explore the negative as well as the positive aspects of choice. Positive choices for inclusion and negative choices against inclusion (rejections) should be given separately but may be given on the same slip or card. Like the question for positive choices, the negative one should be given in an informal, direct, matter-of-fact manner and after it has been made clear that all responses will be kept confidential. Moreover, the question for negative choices should be carefully worded to avoid any implication of one student's being asked to pass judgment on another; and attention should be called to the two-way nature of negative feelings. Nothing should be said regarding the number of persons to be named or the order in which they are to be written, for the emphasis must be upon the situation rather than upon the rejection. The following[10] illustrates the question for negative choice:

> Each of you also knows if there are any people with whom you feel particularly uncomfortable in the situation we are choosing for, or who may feel this way about you, where a feeling of uneasiness or annoyance between them and you may come up in the situation. So I can arrange our grouping to avoid this, if there are any people about whom you feel this way, or any people who you think feel this way about you, put their names at the bottom of the paper. If there aren't, leave it blank.

The validity of the test data is most likely to be increased through effective administration of the test question when the worker takes care to observe seven points stressed by Jennings:[11]

(1) To include the motivating elements in the introductory remarks, (2) to word the question so that children understand how the results are to be used, (3) to allow enough time, (4) to emphasize *any* boy or girl so as to approve in advance any direction the choice may take, (5) to present the test situation with interest and some enthusiasm, (6) to say how soon the arrangements based on the test can be made, and (7) to keep the whole procedure as casual as possible.

When to Test. The sociometric question should be used only with groups small enough for the members to become acquainted with one another and should not be used until the group members have been together long enough to get acquainted and until the worker has established good rapport with the group. If a student feels secure in his relationship with the worker and feels certain that only the worker will know

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[10] Jennings, "Sociometric Grouping in Relation to Child Development," p. 206.
[11] Jennings and staff of Intergroup Education, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

whom he chooses, he is more willing than he might be otherwise to express preferences for and against his associates. Then the test results may disclose preferences that students are not willing to express in behavior and, hence, cannot be known through observation. For example, in response to a *sociometric question a student may name as a desired associate someone whose company he is not willing to seek openly* for some such reason as fear that the other person might not select him or timidity toward approaching someone more popular than he or hesitancy because of a difference in sex, race, religion, socioeconomic status, or the like.

If, on the basis of the test data, the student *is placed with the person whom he prefers but has been reluctant to approach on his own initiative,* the very fact that he knows that the other student does not know of his choice and the fact that he cannot be certain that the other one did not reciprocate his choice help him to feel comfortable in the situation. Actually he *may not have been chosen by the preferred member or by anyone else in the group to which he is assigned, but he does not know this.* He knows only that he is in a group with at least one of his choices, and that everyone else is too. In all probability he may think that he was chosen by some of the students placed with him. At least he feels reasonably certain that the group arrangements are fair to everyone. Consequently, he feels all right in his group.

Organizing the Data

Recording the Choices. The first step in organizing the test results is to list the positive and negative choices received by each group member. The choices may be recorded in tabulated form, as is done in Figure 20; or they may be listed on the same cards or papers used by the students in reporting their choices, provided, of course, that the two sets of names are kept separate. The rank order of the choices should be indicated by a number written after the name of each person listed as a chooser of the person named at the top of the card or paper. When all the choices have been recorded, the total number received by each person is written on his card.

Scoring the Test. The individual's score on the sociometric test is the number or the percentage of mentions that he receives from the other group members. Some investigators[13] have tried to develop a more satisfying scoring procedure through the use of a *weighting method* but without significant success. It is difficult to decide what weight to assign to each choice because the social significance between first, second, and third choices is not actually known. Therefore, other writers, such as

[13] M. L. Northway et al., "Personality and Sociometric Status," Sociometry Monographs, No. 11. New York: Beacon House, 1947.

Fic. 20. Sociometric tabulation form. Directions: list names in the same order vertically and horizontally. Insert a "1," "2," "3" in the proper squares to indicate the order of choices. Note example in the form: Joseph Gold chooses John Smith first, Ruth Allis second, and Irene Brown third. (*Helen H. Jennings in association with the staff of Intergroup Education, Sociometry in Group Relations, p. 18. Washington: American Council on Education, 1948. Reproduced by permission of the publishers.*)

Lemann and Solomon,[13] doubt that the study of group behavior has advanced sufficiently far for such refinements in scoring procedure to be valuable. And Freeman[14] writes as follows:

[13] T. B. Lemann and R. L. Solomon, "Group Characteristics as Revealed in Sociometric Patterns and Personality Ratings," *Sociometry*, 15:6, February–May, 1952.

[14] F. S. Freeman, *Theory and Practice of Psychological Testing*, p. 454. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1950.

The relatively simple methods of scoring the sociometric test are regarded by some of its students as inadequate. . . . These scoring methods, it is urged, do not show to what extent the obtained choices are different from scores that might be obtained merely by chance selection of names. As an alternative, it has been suggested that scores be expressed in terms of their deviation from chance expectancy, using chance distribution of choices as the common reference base. The problem here is to determine the probabilities that certain sociometric choices will occur. These have been calculated for the usual type of sociometric events presented in the tests, utilizing current statistical techniques for determining levels of significance. While this method provides more refined statistical data, actual calculations show that little is lost in accuracy when the raw score, rather than the probability index, is used as a measure of sociometric status.

Constructing the Sociogram. After all preferences and rejections are recorded, they are presented graphically by means of a sociogram as shown in Figure 21. A sociogram pictures the choices for a particular situation and *is valid for that situation only.*

While the procedures used in constructing a sociogram are not standardized, the ones commonly employed are the following: Circles are drawn to indicate girls and triangles to indicate boys. To show communication across sex lines, girls are grouped on one side and boys on the other. Other groupings can be arranged similarly to show the extent to which other potential barriers, such as differences in ethnic background, religion, and socioeconomic status, interfere with communication. In each group the name of the person receiving the highest number of mentions is written in the center symbol. The names of the other members are written in the symbols beyond these in accordance with the number of choices received, the names of the unchosen and little-chosen members appearing in the symbols farthest from the center.

The choices between individuals are represented by lines drawn between the symbols, with the rank of each choice indicated by a number written at the base of the symbol representing the chooser. A one-way choice is shown by a line that ends in an arrow pointing to the symbol representing the chosen person. A mutual choice is shown by a line between two symbols with a small bar or circle in the middle and with or without arrows at both ends. One-way and mutual rejections are shown in the same way, but the lines are dotted or colored. Absent students are represented by dotted or colored symbols. Lines should bend to pass around intervening symbols; they should never pass through them.

SOCIOGRAM TEST FORM

DATE GIVEN: *Nov. 14, 1947*
CHOICE QUESTION: *Seating*

PRESENT: *13*   BOYS; *12*   GIRLS

CLASS—GRADE *8*
SCHOOL *Park School*
CITY *Mount*
TEACHER *Smith*

LEGEND

BLACK LINES = CHOICES
RED LINES (HERE SHOWN AS DASHED LINES) = REJECTIONS
——— = MUTUAL CHOICE
1, 2, OR 3 = OUTSIDE CIRCLE OR TRIANGLE = ORDER OF CHOICE

                                    VALUE
NUMBER OF CHOICES RECEIVED ——— A
NUMBER OF REJECTIONS RECEIVED ——— B = NUMBER OF MUTUAL CHOICES
                                  B = NUMBER OF MUTUAL REJECTIONS
NOTE: FOR AN ABSENT BOY OR GIRL, USE THE RESPECTIVE SYMBOL
DASHED, LEAVING ANY CHOICE LINE OPEN-ENDED
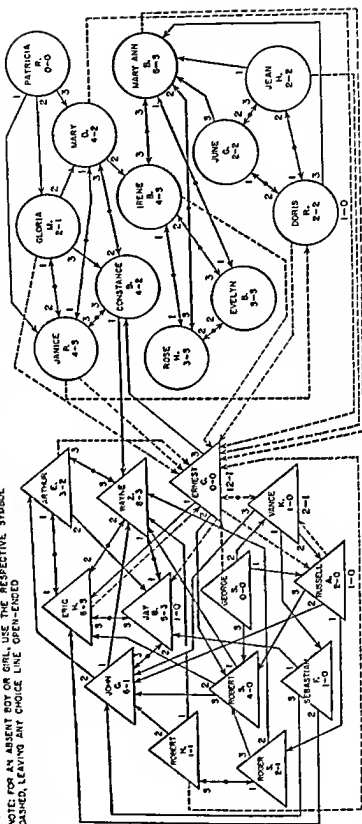
FIG. 21. Filled-in sociogram form, presenting graphically the choice patterns. Blank forms with empty circles and triangles may be mimeographed so that the teacher may fill in names and draw in choice lines after the test has been given. (*Hilda Taba et al., Diagnosing Human Relations Needs*, p. 78. Washington: *American Council on Education*, 1951. *Reproduced by permission of the publishers.*)

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choices are reciprocated and in the same rank order given by him. In addition to the three mutual choices, Wayne receives five other mentions, four of which are first choices, and one a second choice. He is the only boy chosen by a girl, being the first choice of Constance, who is the only girl chosen by a boy.

Moving over to the group of girls, we look at Patricia and Mary Ann, the least chosen and the most chosen among the girls. Patricia is the only girl unchosen. She names as her preferences three members of a four-girl subgroup. All three of Mary Ann's choices are reciprocated but not in the same order as made by her. She may be a strong link between two clusters or cliques, for she is the choice of three members of her own four-girl group and is chosen by all three members of another small cluster. In a similar fashion we could follow the lines leading to and from all the other class members to learn the relative strength of their positions.

When we examine the sociogram as a whole, we note that there is a network of lines on both sides of the diagram, that the choices do not focus on a few members only but are fairly well distributed. On the whole, the picture seems to be a good one. Examining it more carefully, however, we see some weaknesses and two in particular: First, the class is divided into two segments—boys and girls. Only one girl chooses a boy, and only one boy chooses a girl. In each segment, then, there is only one member who serves as a link with the other segment; and one of these links, Ernest, has a very insecure position in the group. Although at the eighth-grade level the number of boy-girl choices are normally few, the number here is definitely below average.

Second, the dominant pattern is that of pairs and subgroups. There is more pairing off (mutual choices) among the girls than among the boys—13 among the girls and 7 among the boys. More than half the class (16 members) belong to a closed or a semiclosed group. There are three groups of girls and one group of boys that are bound closely together by mutual choices. The group of five boys (Arthur, Eric, Wayne, John and Jay) and one group of girls (Rose, Evelyn, Irene, and Mary Ann) are self-contained cliques in that the members do not choose anyone outside their subgroups. The other two clusters of girls (Janice, Gloria, Mary, Constance and June, Jean, Doris) are not closed groups because some members direct choices toward others not in their group and receive mentions from others outside their group. In both these subgroups, however, each member is chosen by and chooses at least one other member of the subgroup; and so these girls constitute subgroups within the class.

There is more overlapping in the lines among the boys than among the girls which indicates that more joint action may be expected from the boys than from the girls. The three clusters of girls are very loosely joined to one another. If there is antagonism or friction between the members

of these three subgroups, there is a possibility not only that there may be little cooperation but also that one subgroup may try to block the interests of another.

In spite of the fact that the dominant pattern in this sociogram is one of pairs and subgroups, the sociogram yields evidence that there is good communication among the group members of each of the two main segments. First, there are few extremes. Only three members (Patricia, George, and Ernest) are unchosen, which is less than average. According to Taba,[11] there is an unreasonable focusing of choices when a few members receive more than eight choices and one-fifth of the group receives more than five choices. Judged by this standard, the group shows no unreasonable focusing of choices. Four members (less than one-fifth of the group) receive more than five mentions each. No member receives more than eight choices; and only one member, Wayne, receives as many as eight. There are only two expressions of negative choice in addition to the negative choices received and expressed by Ernest.

Second, good communication is indicated by the long chains that, with some overlapping, connect the members in each segment. All the girls, for example, are on one or both of two long chains. Note the chain that begins at the top and runs from Patricia to Janice to Gloria to Constance to Mary to Irene to Rose to Evelyn and to Mary Ann and the chain that begins at the bottom with Doris and runs to Jean to June to Mary Ann to Evelyn to Rose and to Irene. On the boys' side also there are several long chains, such as the one that runs from George to Vance to Russell to Robert S. to John to Jay to Eric to Arthur and to Wayne. In both segments (boys and girls) there are a number of chains that extend beyond three or four members. These chains indicate that the students have sufficient opportunity for contact with each other—at least with others of their own sex—and have an opportunity to influence one another through an exchange of ideas.

Learning the Reasons for Choices. The sociogram shows the choices, negative and positive, expressed by the group members; but it does not show why these choices are made. The sociogram in Figure 21, for example, cannot tell us why Ernest is unchosen and rejected or why he chooses and rejects certain students. We cannot assume that he is rejected by the other students because he is a very disagreeable person who does not try to get along with others or, noting that eight of the eleven who reject him are girls, assume that he likes to pick on girls or has "a bad reputation." Neither can we *assume that the picture of strong rejection of Ernest given by this sociogram is one of long standing.* It may be only a temporary one that reflects adult values rather than the values of the peer

[11] Hilda Taba *et al.*, *Diagnosing Human Relations Needs*, p. 83. Washington: American Council on Education, 1951.

group. The rejection may not be based on any strong dislike for Ernest but may be the outgrowth of some temporary situation. If, for example, the sociometric question is used at the time of an exciting national election and the youngsters, like the adults, are engaged in heated political debates and if Ernest and his family are staunch supporters of the Democrats in a community that is strongly Republican, Ernest may find himself for a time outside the pale. Once the election is over and life is back to normal, a new sociogram may show Ernest in his normal position in the group. All this, however, is supposition and nothing more. The picture given of Ernest's status may be the correct one. Without more information than we now have, any reason that we may offer in explanation of his being unchosen or of his being rejected can be no more than a guess. In place of guesses, we need hypotheses and conclusions based on adequate reliable information that is also valid.

Here are only a few of the questions that we need to answer in order to interpret the picture given by the sociogram in Figure 21 but which we cannot answer on the basis of the data that we now have: What has caused the cleavage between boys and girls? School regulations? Classroom arrangements and procedures? Are the members of each subgroup of the same race or religion or from the same neighborhood or from the same lower school? Do the students who pair through mutual choices . complement each other, or do they seek support from each other? In short, do the reciprocated choices represent dependencies? What have the highly chosen students in common? (They tend to choose one another.) What are the common characteristics and needs of the unchosen and little-chosen members? How is Ernest different from the others? Is his background so different that his personality is not understood? To these questions we could add others if we were the teacher of this class because a sociogram usually raises many questions for a teacher by disclosing a number of things that he has not learned through observation and by giving increased significance to many of his observations.

Some understanding of the reasons for the preferences expressed may be gained through a study of the cumulative records and the supplemental reports kept on the students concerned. More specific information, however, may be secured through the use of sociodrama,[16] interviews, written statements in answer to direct questions as to why the choices are made and why the persons chosen are important to the choosers or in answer to open questions, such as "What it takes to get along with the group" or "What I like most in my friends."

Because of the amount of time required it is difficult to use sociodrama and interviews for learning the reasons for the choices made by all group members. It is ordinarily more convenient to ask the students to state their

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[16] For an explanation of the sociodrama see Chap. 18.

reasons in writing, permitting them to write as fully or as concisely as they wish. The students should not feel called upon to justify or to defend their choices and should feel certain that their statements will be held confidential. The request for written statements should be so worded that "right" answers or value judgments are not implied. Taba[17] gives the following example:

> I wish you'd tell me how you happened to choose the people you did choose. When you use words like "nice" put down the specific things you mean or just add something he did so that it's clear what you mean. Write as fully as you can or wish. No one but me will see these papers.

The Stars or Leaders. Students who are not chosen by anyone are described as "isolates" or "unchosen"; those who receive only one or two choices are described as "near isolates" or "little chosen"; and the ones who receive the largest number of choices are called the "stars" or "leaders." Some writers, however, protest the general use of the term "leader" for describing the much-chosen individuals. Cunningham,[18] for example, states that "a fallacy in many of our sociometric technics based on statements of friendship is that popularity and leadership are confused." She maintains that some individuals who are unchosen and "not generally accepted socially" by others in the group must be called "leaders" because through physical strength or some other special power they can get others in the group to do what they want done. As she uses the word, leadership "implies the power to move a group to action."[19]

This meaning is undoubtedly one commonly stressed in definitions of the word; and, in using it, we generally distinguish good and bad leaders in terms of the leaders' purposes in moving groups to action. When leaders are self-seeking, as were Napoleon and Hitler, we do not deny that they are leaders; but many deny that they are good leaders. While most people will accept "ability to move a group to action" as one meaning of leadership, some are unwilling to limit its definition to this one. To do so may exclude from the general category of "leaders" certain individuals of the past who were able to attract and to influence others but who refused to move others to action even when strongly urged to do so. These individuals were apparently leaders because of their unusual ability to relate themselves to others rather than because of their unexercised power to move groups to action.

Like most other words, "leadership" and "leader" do not have one meaning only; and their meanings are not fixed. As a language grows with

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[18] Ruth Cunningham *et al.*, "Leadership and the Group," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 37:503, November, 1948.
[19] Ruth Cunningham *et al.*, *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*, pp. 120–121. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.

a people, words come to signify many things and to acquire some meanings very different from their original ones. As Johnson[20] says, "the conveyor belt of time brings under their spell a changing inventory of 'meanings.'" To help develop appropriate criteria for selecting leaders in a democracy, some educators are trying to shift the emphasis from definitions of leadership in terms of ability to get others to do what one wants done to definitions in terms of ability to elicit positive reactions from others (fear is a negative reaction) and ability to help a group to establish and achieve sound objectives.

It is on this type of definition that some of the most significant research on leadership is based. The findings, for example, from Jennings'[21] study of leadership and isolation show that leadership is definable "by a manner of interacting with others." She found that the leaders differed from others at the opposite end of the scale—the isolates and the near isolates —not so much in personality (frequently they were very similar) as *in capacity to recognize and to respond to the needs of others and in ability to interact with others with mutual appreciation and benefit.* Individuals at times were pushed into positions of leadership because of their unusual capacity for interpersonal contributions in specific situations. The leader in one situation might not be the leader in another.

Sociometric Grouping

As soon as possible after a sociometric test has been administered, the data should be used in grouping the students for the particular purpose involved in their choosing. *Every member must be assigned to a group with at least one of his choices and as far as possible with the highest degree of choice expressed by him or the highest degree of his reciprocated choice.* A student should not be placed with those who reject him if this can be avoided. In short, every possible effort should be made to place each member with the ones to whom he feels most attracted and in whom he will find the strongest response. When a student is with those toward whom he is drawn emotionally, he is generally found to behave more intelligently, to show more maturity, and to be more responsive to the needs and desires of others than he is otherwise.

In arranging students sociometrically, the worker should give attention first to the preferences of the unchosen and little-chosen members. These individuals should be placed with their first choices and also, if possible, with one or more others chosen by them. When two students, one unchosen or little chosen and the other well chosen, name as their first choices the same person and only one of the two is to be placed with this

[20] Wendell Johnson, *People in Quandaries*, p. 117. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946.

[21] Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation*, Chap. 9.

person, the preferred position should be given to the less secure member —the unchosen or little-chosen one.

In organizing work groups, such as class committees, skills, abilities, and temperaments as well as leadership should be balanced. Each work group should include individuals who have the particular skills as well as the interest needed for carrying out the functions involved in the work.

When the sociogram shows serious cleavages on the basis of differences in sex, race, religion, family status, or the like, an effort should be made to bridge the gaps by placing minority and majority group members together. To do this, it is necessary to place some, perhaps many, students with their second or third choices; for their first choices are usually members of their own groups. It is not wise, however, to place only one minority or majority group member with others who are not of his group. There should be at least one other and preferably several of his group with him. In this way the *existing association patterns are not broken completely but are utilized in intermingling members of different subgroups.* As the members of the different groups function together for some common purpose, some, if not many, will become interested in the members of other groups and may develop an understanding and appreciation of their ways and values. They may influence others to develop similar feelings and attitudes, and in time the different groups may become integrated into one.

The data from one sociometric test are not to be used for grouping students for any situation other than the one covered by the test. A new question must be asked to ascertain preferences for a new situation because a student may not choose as a preferred associate for one situation the person whom he names as his first choice for another. As students mature, they come to see the value of special aptitudes and skills and of certain personality traits in particular situations. They learn to differentiate in their choices accordingly. Hence, to gain a comprehensive picture of the social relationships in a group as well as to aid personal development through sociometric groupings, a teacher needs to have his students select associates for a number of different situations, such as being on the same committee, going together on a field trip, sitting near others, and the like.

Each time a sociometric test is given, the results should be plotted on a sociogram. The amount of work involved in constructing a sociogram may cause some teachers not to group their students sociometrically as often as they would like. The work can be reduced, however, through the use of a mimeographed form that contains the needed number of circles and triangles. The sociogram shown in Figure 21 is a filled-in mimeographed form.

When sociograms made for the same group but on the basis of different

criteria are very similar, showing much overlap in the direction of the choices because the students have selected the same associates for different functions, the sociograms indicate that the students do not have sufficient opportunity to interact on a personal basis. With increased opportunity to associate with others in accordance with their own wants (rather than with those of some adult), students gain in ability to select associates in accordance with the skills or standards called for in the particular situation used as a criterion for choice. Hence, Jennings[22] states that the extent of overlap shown by sociograms for the same group but based on contrasting criteria, such as associating in a work and a play situation, is "an index of the extent to which the group life program of the school as a whole is meeting the psychogroup needs of the children." The less extensive the overlap, the more suitable, we may assume, is the program for enabling students to participate with others in many kinds of group situations and for helping them to mature socially and emotionally.

Retesting

By using the same sociometric question repeatedly, a worker can study changes and trends in the organization of a group and in the position of individual members. A test question repeated, however, shortly after its first use will not ordinarily yield much significant information. The retest should be delayed until there is sufficient time for changes in feelings to become apparent. Since such changes do not occur rapidly, the time between tests based on the same criterion should be at least seven or eight weeks.

A series of sociograms on the same group and made on the basis of the same criterion usually show a similar over-all pattern but reveal marked changes for some individuals. The sociograms for the retests usually show fewer rejections than shown by the first sociogram because the groupings resulting from the first test usually improve social relations sufficiently to lessen tensions in the group and thus decrease the need for scapegoats.

OPINION TESTS

Various types of instruments have been devised for obtaining information regarding the degree to which group members accept one another and the opinions that they hold of one another with respect to certain personality traits and behavior patterns. Such instruments are classified here as "opinion tests." They are easier to administer and score than sociometric tests but, on the whole, are less useful because they have less reality value for students. Less motivated to respond, students at

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* Jennings, "Sociometric Grouping in Relation to Child Development," p. 223.

times give answers that are incomplete or inadequate in some other way. When, however, the students have confidence in the teacher, are prepared emotionally to respond to such tests, and feel that their doing so will help them individually as well as help the group, opinion tests may yield very important data. Two of the best-known ones are briefly described below.

1. The "Guess Who" test is a device used by Hartshorne[23] and his associates in their studies for the Character Education Inquiry. The instrument is a list of 24 statements—"word pictures"—that describe "good" and "bad" types of behavior or attitudes. Included are such items as the following:

> Here is someone who is always ready to play or work with the rest even when he (or she) can't have his own way.

> This one is always picking on others and annoying them.

> This is someone who controls his temper and never gets angry.

The student is told to read each statement carefully to see whether he can guess whom it is about and then to write in the spaces below it the name or names of the ones he thinks the statement fits. If he thinks that it describes himself, he writes his own name. If he thinks that it does not fit anyone in the group, he does not write any name. He turns in his report unsigned.

Hartshorne found that having the students sign such reports had a definite effect on the results. In one experiment, for example, he asked 117 students in three classes to list in rank order the three most cooperative and the three least cooperative students. The students did not sign their ballots, but these could be identified in another way. Shortly afterward they were asked to vote again and were told this time to sign their ballots. It was found that when the students signed their reports, 32 per cent of them cast a positive vote for themselves; when they did not sign, 74 per cent rated themselves positively.

In the California Adolescent Growth Study a modified form of the "Guess Who" test was used for the evaluation of adolescents by adolescents. Adopting the form of Hartshorne's test, Tryon[24] assembled in a test booklet 20 pairs of statements that represent the extremes of 20 traits.[25] The first two statements, representing "restless" and "quiet," are as follows:

[23] Hugh Hartshorne et al., *Studies in Service and Self-control*, pp. 87–91. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. Used by permission of the publisher.

[24] C. M. Tryon, *Evaluation of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents*. Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. 4, No. 4. Washington: National Research Council, 1939.

[25] With some changes Tryon's test was used for "the social analysis of the classroom" in the study reported by Cunningham et al., *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*, pp. 419–422.

Here is someone who finds it hard to sit still in class; ho (or she) moves around in his (or her) seat or gets up and walks around.

Here is someone who can work very quietly without moving around in his (or her) seat.

2. *The Classroom Social Distance Scale* is designed to reveal the degree to which each member of a class accepts every other member and has been described as "a short cut to finding the place of the individual in the group."[26] This instrument is a five-interval rating scale (vertical arrangement) for one item—social acceptance. A student indicates the degree to which he accepts or rejects the other class members by placing a check mark in one of the five squares beneath each member's name. He selects the square to the right of the subhead that best describes his feelings toward a student. He may also rate himself by checking the square that, he believes, indicates how most of the others feel about him. The five squares or scale intervals are described by the following subheads:

1. Would like to have him as one of my best friends.
2. Would like to have him in my group but not as a close friend.
3. Would like to be with him once in a while but not often or for a long time.
4. Don't mind his being in our group but I don't want to have anything to do with him.
5. Wish he weren't in our room.

Use of the last two scale intervals may create discomfort and anxiety for some students.

In using "the classroom social distance scale," students are passing judgment upon one another; and so it is well that the instructions include the caution that "it should be used only in situations where the teacher has achieved a high degree of rapport with the group. If there is resistance on the part of boys and girls either to using the instrument or to signing their names, it is probable that it should not be used."[27] It is important that this caution be observed. Otherwise, use of the instrument may serve to weaken rather than to strengthen interpersonal relations in the group.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF SOCIOMETRIC AND OPINION TESTS

Some reports have been published regarding the reliability of sociometric data and findings from the opinion tests considered here. Hartshorne[28] found the predicted reliability for the "Guess Who" test to be .98 by the split-form method. For her adaptation of the "Guess Who"

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 173.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 401.
[28] Hugh Hartshorne *et al.*, *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 222. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930.

test Tryon[29] obtained average reliability coefficients of .80 by the test-retest method (retesting after ten days) and of .75 by the split-half method.

Jennings[30] calls attention to the high reliability coefficient obtained in two research studies in which the subjects were permitted a limited number of choices. In one study the same test question was given on four successive weeks, and the average reliability coefficient was .95. In the other the same test was given on successive days, and the reliability coefficients ranged from .93 to .95. These coefficients are based on the extent to which the individual was chosen by others on two or more occasions.

In her own study Jennings used unlimited choice and a retest interval as long as eight months. Even under these stringent conditions she found a fairly high correlation between the individual's choice status on the two occasions. Retesting after a short interval was used only once in the study. When one subgroup was retested after four days, the reliability coefficients based on gross number of reactions given by the members toward others was .96 for positive choices and .93 for negative choices.[31] These high coefficients obtained by immediate retesting led Jennings to conclude that they were indicative only of "the slowness with which individuals change in their extent of choice and rejection of one another."

Data from sociometric and opinion tests are very different from data from tests of aptitude and achievement. Consequently, reliability coefficients for "tests" of choice have different implications from reliability coefficients for other types of tests. The results from sociometric tests are expected to change markedly over long periods of time. If they do not, it may be evidence that the findings are not valid. Jennings emphasizes, as do also Pepinsky[32] and others, that the sociometric test data are themselves the behavior studied and that the test is not an indirect measure of other behavior. Therefore, says Jennings, the test is directly meaningful in itself and does not need to be validated through being related to some external criterion. Since it need not be related to a relatively stable external criterion, it need not be consistent from one application to another. In short, the variation of choice behavior is not to be described as a function of test reliability but, instead, of the relative stability of the behavior itself.

Freeman[33] is another who states that the usual standards and criteria with respect to validity do not apply to sociometric and opinion tests.

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[29] Tryon, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–13.

[30] Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation*, p. 80.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[32] Pauline Nichols Pepinsky, "The Meaning of 'Validity' and 'Reliability' as Applied to Sociometric Tests," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 9:39–49, Spring, 1949.

[33] Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 453–454.

He describes these tests as "measures of the environment of opinion in which each individual is functioning." In expressing feelings for or against their classmates, students, according to Freeman, are not necessarily expressing independent judgments. They may be reflecting the prevailing group attitudes. This fact, however, in no way decreases the value of the test data; for information regarding the "environment of opinion" is important. It helps to explain the behavior of individual members as well as to reveal the organization and the values of the group. However, since sociometric techniques are measures of the environment of opinion and are not intended to measure personality of the group members, "it is gratuitous," says Freeman, "to ask for or to expect evidence of validity in the usual psychometric terms."

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The Cumulative Personnel Record

Periodically the significant information gathered on students through the use of various techniques—tests, inventories, questionnaires, observation, interviews, case studies, case conferences, and the like—should be assembled in summary form on a cumulative record. Good cumulative records are important to good student personnel work. Most authorities consider them essential.

THE SITUATION

It is not unusual to find in education that that which is held good in theory is not applied in practice even though the practitioners and the theorists agree regarding the need for the practice. Sometimes the obstacle to action is no more than inertia; sometimes it is lack of certain requirements, such as time or staff, which may or may not be due to lack of funds; at other times it is lack of skill and understanding, which is often due to lack of training. Whatever the reason, survey studies of the situation with respect to use of cumulative records commonly show that, in spite of general agreement regarding the importance of good personnel records, too many schools are without cumulative records or have records that are definitely inadequate.

It is, however, encouraging that studies of samplings of schools throughout the nation or of schools in one state only indicate that the situation is improving. Some examples: Cunliffe's[1] report on his 1947 study of the guidance programs in the high schools of New Jersey indicates that in that state more schools were using cumulative records and better records in 1947 than was the case at the time of his earlier surveys[2] made in 1931,

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[1] Rex B. Cunliffe, *The Guidance Program in the Public Secondary Schools in New Jersey*, p. 53. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950.

[2] Rex B. Cunliffe et al., *Guidance Practice in New Jersey* (1932). *Guidance Practice in New Jersey: A Sequel to the Report Issued in 1932* (1937). *Guidance Practice in New Jersey: A Progress Report* (1942). New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press,

1936, and 1941. Findings from the 1947 inquiry are reported for five types of secondary schools—four-year, junior-high, senior-high, six-year, and vocational-technical schools. Larger percentages of the six-year and senior-high schools than of the other three types reported use of comprehensive records which include information on school marks, health and medical history, economic and social background, standardized tests, personality ratings, extracurricular experiences, vocational preferences, and out-of-school work experiences. Personality ratings and out-of-school work experiences were reported less frequently than the other items by all five types of schools.

In 1947 Wrenn and Dugan,[3] using the questionnaire method, made a study of guidance practices in the nonmetropolitan high schools of Minnesota. Answers were received from 66 per cent of the 455 schools outside Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth. Three-fourths of these schools reported use of cumulative records. About two-thirds stated that information other than scholastic grades was regularly entered upon the records, but only four out of ten schools reported that information about home conditions was regularly collected. In 1949 Michaelis and Howard[4] reported a questionnaire study made of evaluation practices in unified city school districts of California. Some 80 per cent of the school systems responding reported use of cumulative records, which vary from simplified card forms used primarily for reporting school marks to combinations of cards and folders that contain extensive information about growth in a number of areas.

The fact that certain items occur in the cumulative record forms adopted by a school cannot always be considered evidence that the type of information covered by the items is collected and recorded. An examination of cumulative records pulled at random from a school's record files may show that an excellent record form has been adopted—perhaps one cited in the literature as a good example of some desirable development in cumulative records—but may also show that for most students it is an "empty form," except for the sections on educational achievement and attendance. Space is provided on the form for recording other types of information, but the information is not given.

This type of situation—*a good record form poorly maintained*—is found in schools where not only the record forms but also the guidance practitioners are among the best. Sometimes the practitioners, like some discouraged students, do not attempt to defend or to explain the situation. Some may simply say, "That's just the way it is," and refuse to say more. Others may say, "We do all we can and leave the rest undone. We can

[3] C. Gilbert Wrenn and Willis E. Dugan, *Guidance Procedures in High School.* Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1950.

[4] John U. Michaelis and Charles Howard, "Current Practices in Evaluation in City School Systems," *Journal of Educational Research*, 4:250–260, December, 1949.

do more with the records if we leave some other things undone—like seeing students. We are not giving students enough time now; so it seems wrong to take time from students in order to give more time to paper work. We do not mean that we think the paper work is not important. We know it is, but we have to neglect something; so we neglect the records."

Sometimes the record examined as an example of a school's cumulative records is a folder, instead of a card. Often the folder is full of papers that contain a great deal of significant data about the student named on the record, but the material is not in usable form. To get information on a particular item, the examiner must go through many sheets and cards and check much unrelated material. Even when he does find the information, he is not sure that he has all the information or even the most important facts contained in the folder on the item in question. Once more an overburdened practitioner, fully aware of the importance of well-kept records, may not attempt defense of the situation.

In some schools, no doubt, good records are not kept because of lack of interest on the part of administrators and teachers. Too often, however, the reason is the same one that explains lack of adequate provision for certain other student personnel services—too few workers with too little time for doing student personnel work. When guidance is offered on a mass-production basis, overloaded and frustrated personnel workers may be expected to neglect "paper work" for "human work"—work with students—if they must make a choice between the two.

Furthermore, if guidance is made the function of teachers who are without training or strong interest in the work and who must assume special guidance functions in addition to a full-time teaching assignment, record keeping may seem no more than a burdensome chore. Such workers are apt to record only the items that they are required to enter upon the cumulative records, such as school marks and attendance facts. These numerical entries, if correct, probably have the same value when recorded by untrained, uninterested workers as when recorded by well-qualified workers provided, of course, that they are entered accurately on the record. Less objective data, however, are very likely to be of little value when reported and recorded by workers who resist record keeping for any reason—good or bad. Such entries are often vague, colorless, and stereotyped.

A check, for example, of the cumulative records kept by a reluctant worker may show that he reports practically the same thing about all members of his group. Apparently the worker hits upon some phrases that he considers good and uses them over and over. Consequently his records tend to conceal rather than to reveal individual differences. They may show, for instance, that with respect to social adjustment all his coun-

selees are "well accepted by other students," that in terms of health and physical characteristics all are "average," that with regard to mental health all are "emotionally mature." Despite the fact that the worker reports that all his counselees are "of average potential," "well adjusted," and "achieving to expectancy," the records indicate that the students are not "normal"; for the blank spaces on their records indicate that they are without free-time activities, special interests, work experiences, educational plans, and vocational interests. Or do the blank spaces mean only that, if the students do have such experiences, interests, and plans, their teacher-counselor does not know about them or does not think that they are sufficiently important to report?

CONTENTS OF THE CUMULATIVE RECORD

As Traxler[5] has pointed out, the term "cumulative record" is a comparatively new one in education. Hence it is not surprising to find that there is some disagreement regarding the meaning of the new term and that opinions regarding the scope of the contents of the record vary in keeping with differences in the definitions of the term. Those who see the record as "an array of facts" about a student stress the importance of including objective data mainly. Those who see the record as an accumulation of comprehensive information about a student advocate inclusion of both subjective and objective data.

All writers apparently accept inclusion of the items recommended in 1944 by the National Committee on Cumulative Records.[6] Listed by broad categories, the items are as follows:

Personal
    Name
    Date of birth
    Evidence of birth
    Place of birth
Home and Community
    Names of parents or guardians
    Occupation of parents or guardians
    Are parents alive or deceased
    Ratings of home environment and/or economic status

Sex
Color or race
Residence of pupil and/or parents

With whom does pupil live
Birthplace of parents
Language spoken in home
Marital status
Number of siblings, older and younger

[5] A. E. Traxler, *Techniques of Guidance*, p. 215. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.
[6] U.S. Office of Education, *Handbook of Cumulative Records: A Report of the National Committee on Cumulative Records*, Bulletin 1944, No. 5, pp. 1–7. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945.

Scholarship
    School marks by years and sub-   Rank in graduating class (with
        ject   number in class)
        Special reports on failures
        Record of reading

Test scores and ratings
    General intelligence test scores
    Achievement test scores
    Other test scores
    Personality ratings

School attendance
    Days present or absent each year
    Record of schools attended, with
        dates

Health
    The following types of items are desirable if a school has a health program in
        which physicians and nurses are a part:
        Complete health record, to be filled in by physician or nurse
        Record of physical disabilities
        Vaccination record
        Disease census
        If a physician or nurse is not available for examining school children a
        rating of the health of pupils may be made by the teachers, the type of
        rating depending upon the extent of the education of teachers in health
        matters.

Anecdotal records
    If an anecdotal records system is to be used, a special form should be devel-
    oped. Anecdotal reports may be kept easily if filed in a folding type of
    cumulative record or where records are kept in envelopes.

Miscellaneous
    Employment record during school years
    Vocational plans
    Counselor's notes
    Extracurricular activities
    Follow-up record after leaving school (Employment and further educa-
        tion)
    Space for notations by teachers and others

These items are almost always included in the recommendations offered by others although at times they are described or classified differently, and a number of items are included in some other recommendations that are not listed above. In similar sections on "home and community," for example, Leonard and Tucker[1] include "parents' education"; Ruch and

[1] E. A. Leonard and A. C. Tucker, *The Individual Inventory in Guidance Programs in Secondary Schools,* Vocational Division Bulletin 215, p. 42. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

Segel,[8] "cultural background"; and Wrenn and Dugan,[9] "home and family relationships." In sections similar to the ones given above on "scholarship" and "test scores and ratings" Strang[10] would add an interpretation of test scores by a psychologist and "notes on the student's attitudes, the questions he asks, the quality of his thinking when solving problems, his work habits and ways of learning, his skills and satisfactions in handwork and the creative arts, samples of his creative art work"; Wrenn and Dugan also include "attitudes" and add "special abilities: clerical, mathematical, artistic, and the like"; and others include "speech and reading disabilities."

An item on dental data is frequently included in the category for "health." Also included in other lists are items about discipline and about the student's educational and vocational interests, special talents, accomplishments, and experiences. A number of writers recommend including, in addition to anecdotal records, reports on interviews and faculty conferences and a special report by the student's counselor. Strang[11] recommends inclusion also of a report by the student—"the student's own statement, year by year, of his changing values, goals, and purposes"—and a "record of the accomplishments of the class group to which the individual belongs."

If all the information covered by the items included in all lists of recommendations were given in the cumulative record for a specified student, that record would indeed give a comprehensive and meaningful picture of the student, provided, of course, that the information were correct. It is, however, unlikely that a cumulative record form will ever —or should ever—be developed that provides for all the types of information recommended for inclusion. It is unwise for any faculty group to make the development of such a form its objective; for included in any school's records should be only the items that will actually be used in working with the students or in their behalf. In short, record development should be on the basis of what information is used and can be collected, not on the basis of what should be collected in terms of recommendations by the authorities.

Over a decade ago Ruch and Segel[12] warned against overelaborate records, pointing out that "there is a human tendency to strive for completeness with the result that the volume of information recorded be-

[8] G. M. Ruch and David Segel, *Minimum Essentials of the Individual Inventory in Guidance*, Vocational Division Bulletin 202, p. 11. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

[9] Wrenn and Dugan, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[10] Ruth Strang, *Counseling Technics in College and Secondary School*, rev. ed., p. 183. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[12] Ruch and Segel, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

comes so great that the significance of many basic facts may be lost. Jones[12] also considers it poor policy to adopt intricate and comprehensive records when little attention is given to the way in which the facts recorded will be used. He states that, in general, it is best to help teachers develop a feeling of the value of certain facts before asking them to record them, for it is better to have a few facts that are actually used than a mass of unused material.

Similarly, others, such as Reed,[14] find that "there is very real danger that too much stress may be put upon the possession of records per se; that all the outward indications of a full-fledged record system may be present, but that the interest and energy of the corps may have been so depleted in preparing the tools that in the hour of need they are unable to discern their functioning values or to make use of them for individual growth. The end must not be overshadowed by a desire to perfect the means."

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

While many writers hold different opinions regarding the desirable scope of the cumulative record, their definitions of the term "cumulative record" are basically not very different. The definitions are, in general, similar to the one by Williamson,[15] who states that the cumulative record form is essentially a means for summarizing the significant items of a case history and for bringing out the direction and rate of development of the individual's personality. Furthermore, disagreement regarding the contents or scope of the record is not so great as disagreement regarding the "most promising form" for the record. The confusion created by lack of agreement regarding the most desirable form may be further increased by some disagreement that seems to be developing regarding use of the terms "individual inventory" and "cumulative record."

The term "individual inventory" is used much less frequently than the term "cumulative record." While it may not have been introduced by the authors[16] of the 1939 report on a survey study of cumulative records made by the U.S. Office of Education, use of the term is closely associated with the report. In this report and in one by Leonard and Tucker[17] on a related study the terms "individual inventory" and "cumulative record" are used interchangeably. In both reports "individual inventory" is de-

[12] A. J. Jones, *Principles of Guidance*, 4th ed., p. 237. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951.

[14] Anna Y. Reed, *Guidance and Personnel Services in Education*, p. 212. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1944.

[15] E. G. Williamson, *Counseling Adolescents*, p. 155. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950.

[16] Ruch and Segel, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[17] Leonard and Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

fined as "the school's formal record of its efforts to discover and capitalize the individual differences among pupils." Until recently other writers, on the whole, also used the two terms interchangeably. More recently, however, special meanings have been given to "individual inventory" by Wrenn and Dugan and by Smith.

Wrenn and Dugan[18] use the term to describe the *process of efforts* rather than the *record of efforts* to acquire information about students. They define the "individual inventory" as "the broad, inclusive process of securing those basic facts about a student which distinguish him as an individual from other students," and they name the cumulative record and the testing program as the "two commonly found elements in the individual inventory at the high school level." Smith[19] also makes a distinction between the "individual inventory" and the "cumulative record." He restricts use of the term "cumulative record" to a form (described as being "usually a card or folder") which provides "spaces for entering data about pupils" and uses the term "individual inventory" to describe the "overflow" of the "many items of information about pupils which do not lend themselves to recording on a cumulative card." The term "individual inventory" is not generally used in the literature. Should its use become common, some agreement should be sought regarding its meaning.

The restriction of the term "cumulative record" to a card or folder which provides spaces for entries regarding particular items is not accepted by many writers. Most writers state that the cumulative record is used in various forms, such as card, sheet, printed folder, cards or sheets contained in an envelope, booklet, or some combination of these forms. Present trends seem to be in the direction of a form that combines card and folder.

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN PERSONNEL RECORDS

Traxler[20] traces the development of modern personnel records from early school records and reports the pioneer work in cumulative personnel records. Reed[21] notes that the agitation for improvement of educational records in general coincided with the beginning of the organized guidance movement, but she finds no relation between the two movements. Like Traxler, she traces the growth of interest in the guidance values of educational records and interest in the development of a new

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[18] Wrenn and Dugan, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[19] C. E. Smith, *Principles and Practices of the Guidance Program*, p. 152. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. Used with the permission of the publisher.

[20] Traxler, *op. cit.*, pp. 202–203, 215–219.

[21] Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

type of record—the cumulative personnel record—to the 1928 work of the American Council on Education Committee on Personnel Methods which led to the development by B. D. Wood and E. L. Clark of four cumulative record forms—two folders (one for secondary schools and one for colleges) and two cards (one for elementary schools and one for elementary or secondary schools). Later these forms were revised.

Two Early Models. The original ACE folder is complex. Test scores in terms of percentile ratings, for example, are to be plotted by month and year on a gridiron chart; and much information is to be recorded elsewhere on the folder in a very limited amount of space. As a result, when the card is filled in, it is difficult to read quickly and easily because the information is crowded into too little space. In spite of such shortcomings, however, the ACE record form is generally considered excellent; and undoubtedly it has done much to stimulate improvement of cumulative personnel records by providing a model of high standards.

In 1933 the Educational Records Bureau published a simplified adaptation of the ACE form for secondary schools. The ERB form is a six-year record card, whereas the original ACE form is a five-year record folder. The ERB card provides for both a tabular and a graphic record of test data.[12] Comparable school marks may also be plotted on the graphic chart for test data. In addition to identifying information, test results, school marks, and attendance items, the card provides for entries on discipline, home influences and cooperation, mental and emotional factors, physical health and athletic development, extracurricular activities and interests, notable accomplishments and experiences, educational plans, and personality ratings. The traits to be rated are not named on the card but are to be determined by the faculty or administrators of the schools using the card. The card contains a section labeled "remarks" in which may be recorded any significant information, such as items regarding vocational plans and interests, not provided for elsewhere on the form.

Some schools adopted one of the models—the ACE or the ERB form —without change; and a number of these schools soon found that their teachers, because of lack of experience with more simple records, were not able to maintain or to use effectively a record as comprehensive and elaborate as the model. As previously reported, Traxler found that not all schools which adopted the ERB card used the graphic section; that some limited the test record to a tabulation of test results, probably because workers inexperienced in the use of graphs sometimes find it difficult to read test profiles such as those contained in the ERB card and the original ACE forms. The schools that adopted the models *with alterations*, that modified them in keeping with the record needs of the schools

[12] See Fig. 4.

and the faculty's readiness to use cumulative records, were, no doubt, more successful in using the ACE or ERB model than the schools that adopted the standard form without change.

In the early 1940's the ACE forms were revised. The revisions show the influence of the ERB card and of certain other simplified adaptations of the original ACE folder. They also show the influence of the Eight Year Study of the Progressive Education Association, which is not surprising; for the forms were revised under the chairmanship of Eugene R. Smith, director of the PEA experiment in evaluating and recording student progress. The revised ACE folders are, in the opinion of Traxler,[23] "no doubt the most advanced cumulative records thus far made generally available."

The revised ACE folder for junior and senior high schools is a six-year record, which includes the PEA behavior description scale[24] with a few minor changes. The influence of the PEA study is further shown in a decreased emphasis upon subjects, credits, and school marks. For each year five unclassified columns are provided for "analyses of development" in the various subject fields which are named at the left in a column labeled "academic achievement." The record form contains the suggestion that the headings for these columns might include "work habits, ability to think logically, mastery of techniques, oral and written communications, and some estimate of achievement." The objectives indicated by these headings are among the ones stressed in certain records developed through the Eight Year Study.

Half the test record section of the revised folder is used for tabulating test results under the general headings of "academic aptitude," "reading," "achievement and other tests." The other half is for "interpretation of test record and its relation to school achievement." For schools that wish a graphic record of test scores (one distinguishing feature of the original record form), an alternate form is provided that contains a graph, instead of the section for interpretation of test results.

Two Later Models. During the years of the Second World War many high-school people became more aware than before of the value of good records and of the need for school authorities' being able to provide accurate and comprehensive information about the students currently or previously enrolled in their schools. Interest in the development of good cumulative records was further stimulated at this time by the development of the Educational Experience Summary[25] by the U.S. Office of

[23] A. E. Traxler, *How to Use Cumulative Records*, p. 9. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1947.

[24] Described in Chap. 7.

[25] *The Educational Experience Summary* (Secondary School) and the bulletin of instructions may be obtained from the Government Printing Office, Washington. Catalogue number is 10-33621-1.

Education in cooperation with the War Department, the War Manpower Commission, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the National Association of Secondary-school Principals. The EES card is still used in counseling students who are graduating from high school and are soon to enter the armed forces.

This cumulative record card calls for some items that are ordinarily not contained in the cumulative records of many schools. They are items that are very useful in counseling and that help to bridge the gap between information about school and information about extraschool life. For example, subject preferences (the three subjects liked most and the three liked least) are to be recorded as well as achievement in different subject areas. Special aptitudes as revealed not only by tests but also by other evidences are to be listed. In the section on "significant hobbies, interests, and extracurricular activities" information is to be given not only regarding the name or type of activity but also regarding principal achievement, duration of interest, and evidence of leadership. The items in the section on "wage-earning experience" cover kind of work done as well as name and address of employer and period of employment.

In spite of the fact that during the period of the Second World War considerable attention was given to the inadequacies of school records and that in not a few schools efforts were directed toward the improvement of records, many high schools continued without any type of cumulative records other than the "permanent records" kept on academic achievement and attendance. A new attempt to arouse interest in the development and the use of good cumulative records may be seen in the publication of a simplified cumulative record card prepared by Traxler *as an aid to schools with little experience in the use of such forms and* published in 1947 by Science Research Associates. This record form is less elaborate than either the ERB card or the revised ACE folder.

The ACE, ERB, and SRA cumulative personnel records were developed for purposes of educational service rather than financial profit; and so they are not copyrighted. The SRA form unfortunately is now out of print, but copies of the ACE and ERB forms may be obtained at nominal cost from the publishers. The entire form or any part of these records may be reproduced for school use. School people are encouraged to use them in any way helpful to them in exploratory work with cumulative records.

TWO TRENDS AND SOME ILLUSTRATIONS

Toward Decreased Diversity

Few writers believe that cumulative record forms should be uniform even within a school system. Most believe that records are more likely to be kept and used in the proper way if they are developed through co-

operative planning and experimentation on the part of the faculty concerned rather than imposed ready-made by some authority from above or adopted upon the recommendation of some outside expert. However, while most writers advocate diversity of records in keeping with local conditions, most agree with Traxler[28] that too great variations in the records of different schools create problems of efficient use and exchange of records.

Decreased Diversity through Coordination of Efforts. Much present diversity in records of particular schools or particular school systems is due to the fact that too often the various committees responsible for developing specific record forms work somewhat in isolation and do not try to relate their work to that already done or being done by other record committees in the same school system or even at times in the same school. To maintain the proper balance between similarity and diversity in records, the workers at one school level or in one school must study and plan with the workers at other levels and in other schools of the same system. Only through such cooperation can the needed coordination of record work be obtained.

Perhaps one of the strongest influences working for decreased diversity in record forms and for more nearly uniform policies with respect to contents, transfer of records, and the like is the development of record forms by state committees. The record forms are usually made available on an optional basis. When school people from different parts of the state participate in the development of record forms and arrangements are made for special study of the recommended forms at the local level, an increase in the number of schools that use cumulative records usually follows. The record forms adopted by the new users and the revisions of forms already in use are often adaptations of the form developed and recommended by the state committee.

California offers a good example of the influence of the work of a state group upon the records adopted by schools in various parts of the state. The cumulative record forms of certain junior and senior high schools located in different sections of California are essentially the same, for they are patterned after the California Cumulative Personnel Record Folder recommended and distributed by the California Association of Secondary School Administrators. Similarly the cumulative record forms used by many California elementary schools are the form or adaptations of the form developed by the California School Supervisors Association.

The California Secondary-school Form and Some Adaptations. The California folder is a 14-semester record. On the two inner sides, spaces are provided for reporting identifying information, schools previously attended, dates of graduation from junior and senior high school; for two

photographs (supposedly taken during eighth and twelfth grades); and for "notes." The remainder of the space inside the folder (about four-fifths) is used for recording achievement in the subject fields named on the folder. In the academic achievement section for each semester spaces are provided for showing course titles, marks, and ratings in work habits and citizenship. About three-fourths of the front outer side of the folder is used for the test record section which includes a graphic analysis chart as well as space for tabulation of test results. Entries regarding home and home conditions occupy the rest of the space on the front side. One half of the space on the back outer side is used for recording information about extracurricular activities, transfer and college application, attendance, employment, follow-up, and "recommendations." The other half is used for reports on observations, outcomes of interviews, and general comments.

Some California schools have adopted, almost unchanged, all or certain parts of the state folder. The adaptation used in the Long Beach junior and senior high schools *does not contain the graphic analysis chart.* Otherwise, it is the form, with only a few minor changes, recommended by the state group. The revised cumulative record form used in the Los Angeles junior and senior high schools is another adaptation of the state folder. The form previously used and discarded was in some ways a more advanced form than the revised one is. It contained a simplified form of the PEA behavior description scale and some entries, such as "mental health or significant mental traits," "special achievement or free-time activities," and "school's recommendations" which are not included in the revised form. In the revised Los Angeles form there is a shift in emphasis from behavior description to identification of vocational interests.

Cooperative Development of a System of Coordinated Records in Ontario, Canada. In 1917 as a result of requests from school people *and parents* for more uniformity in student personnel records, the Ontario Department of Education took steps to initiate the development of an adequate system of cumulative records. A committee was set up to make a study of the existing records. The survey showed (1) that the records were inadequate in many cases, (2) that there was much overlapping of records and consequently *little coordination* of them in the schools, and (3) that there was little evidence of effective transfer of records from one school to the next one. (These are probably the same weaknesses that would be revealed in a survey of many record systems of this country.)

On the basis of *evidence from this study* of existing records the Department of Education began planning the development of a more adequate record system. Working in cooperation with others and after con-

sulting several hundred persons, including employers and parents as well as other school people, the Department developed provisional forms which were revised after further study and consultation and then tested experimentally in several school systems in 1949–1950.

On the basis of these experiments as well as on information given through other studies and conferences, the present forms were completed in May, 1950. . . . In September, 1950, principals and inspectors throughout the province were sent sample sets free of charge. They were informed about the process of development of the system and were requested to give consideration to the establishment of these records. It must be emphasized that there was no pressure on the school whatsoever to adopt the plan. . . . It is not intended that these forms will remain static. Constructive suggestions received from the schools will be incorporated from time to time in the forms.[*]

Within two years 70 per cent of the Ontario schools had adopted the provisional forms. These records include two cumulative record folders (one for elementary schools and one for high schools), a folder (printed on inside only) for showing educational achievement in grades 7 through 13, and two 5″ × 8″ cards which are used as office cards in conjunction with the folders and which serve as permanent file cards after the folders are transferred to another school. There is a printed manual which contains a request for suggestions for improvement, instructions for use of the various forms, and photostatic copies of a set of filled-in forms which show the record of "a typical youngster" as he progresses from kindergarten to grade 13.

Toward Expanded Records

Workers in many schools have not found either the cumulative record card or the printed folder a very satisfactory record form. The printed folder has two advantages over the printed card: (1) It provides more space (four sides, instead of two), and (2) it can be used as a file folder for cards and sheets that contain additional material or material that cannot be easily summarized and recorded on the card or the printed folder. The printed folder that is used both as a file folder and as a record form has, however, one serious disadvantage: Having to remove and to replace the folder contents even for incidental use of information recorded on the inside of a printed folder is at times very inconvenient. Also, it is difficult to read information recorded on the outside of a printed folder that is made unwieldy by many enclosures.

Combination of Card and Folder. Because of the disadvantages encountered in using either a cumulative record card or a printed folder alone, some schools have adopted the practice of using standard blank

[*] Letter to the author from H. R. Beattie, Director of Guidance, Ontario Department of Education, Feb. 11, 1953.

folders in which cumulative record cards can be filed along with other cards and sheets containing supplementary information. The sheet or card that contains the information wanted at a particular time may then be drawn from the folder and replaced without its being necessary to remove all material from the folder. Too often, however, so much material is placed in the folder, and the material is filed in such an unorganized fashion that it is no more easy to obtain from this type of record form the information needed than it is to get it from a printed folder.

Some schools that have adopted the combination of cumulative record card and blank folder try to expedite use of the records by keeping the cards and folders in separate file cabinets. The cumulative record card, which generally contains the items of information used most often or used by the greatest number of staff members, is kept in one file; and the folder, which contains additional information on the same items as well as information on other items, is filed in another cabinet nearby. The file cabinets for cards and folders should be kept in the same room and near each other. If they are located in different offices or far apart in the same room, some workers will not use both files as frequently as they may if they can turn from one to the other without much inconvenience.

Record Envelopes. Some schools have adopted record envelopes that hold a limited amount of material. The contents are usually limited to the specific record cards and sheets listed on the front side of the envelope. Listed, for example, on the "permanent records" envelope of the Van Nuys (Calif.) Junior High School are attendance card, cumulative record card, health record, report cards, stop clearance report, test records, transcripts, and reports by the vice-principal. Printed on the front side of the record envelope used by the Riverside (Calif.) city schools are the general directions for maintaining and using the three types of record cards (educational, health, and social and personal) that are kept in the envelope. These cards are designed to provide a cumulative record from kindergarten through junior college. Similarly, the forms filed in the record envelope used in the Oklahoma City schools provide a cumulative record from kindergarten through senior high schools.

Record Booklets. To provide more material than can be reported through use of a cumulative record card, folder, or envelope and to provide organized material that is systematically collected, some schools have adopted record booklets contained in binders that make the removal and addition of pages easy. Ordinarily the record booklet is largely a collection of record sheets arranged in some special order and fastened together in a standard file folder. This type of cumulative record seems to be more frequently used in elementary schools than in secondary schools or colleges.

The use of record sheets assembled according to some plan and fast-

ened in a binder or folder is not unusual with lawyers and clinical workers trained to keep organized comprehensive records on their clients. The story presented in this type of record is likely to have a higher degree of coherence and continuity than the one that must be pieced together by sorting the loose sheets and cards filed in a folder or envelope. Record booklets usually include a table of contents, and they can be indexed. Pagination is necessary for efficient use.

SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES
Development and Revision of Record Forms

The development and revision of record forms for use in a particular school should be a cooperative project. The forms should be developed by the faculty through group study and experimentation. Even in the very large school all faculty members should have some part in the study and discussions leading to a decision regarding the record forms to be used. The project should always be preceded by a thoughtful re-examination of the school's philosophy and a review of its objectives. Then the faculty is ready to consider the types of information needed and the way in which the information should be collected and recorded so that they may have the record system most helpful for achieving their objectives.

The faculty should start with simple records that all its members can use so that they may progress smoothly and steadily toward use of more comprehensive records. The form developed and adopted should be in keeping with both the needs of the school and the faculty's readiness for using cumulative records. Never should a particular form be adopted mainly because it is highly recommended by the "authorities." The recommendations of the authorities should, of course, be seriously considered; and the forms used in other schools and described by the experts as "good," "excellent," or "promising" should be carefully studied. The fact, however, that a particular form proves good in one school does not ensure its being good in another, even though the second school may be very similar to the first one with respect to program, size, and type of students served.

The faculty should study various types of record forms. Copies of the ACE and ERB forms may be obtained from their publishers. Some bulletins of the U.S. Office of Education[25] and certain books by Traxler,[27] Jones,[20] and others contain illustrations of the record forms used in some schools. Sets of sample records may be borrowed from some state depart-

[25] U.S. Office of Education, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–104; *Nature and Use of the Cumulative Record*, Bulletin 1938, No. 3. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.
[27] Traxler, *Techniques of Guidance*, pp. 215–234.
[20] A. J. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–249.

ments of education, and a sample set may be rented from the Educational Records Bureau. In general, it is not desirable to try to secure through direct request copies of the record forms used in specific schools. The forms of certain schools have been so well publicized that the administrators of these schools receive a burdensome number of requests for copies. Some find that they cannot supply the copies requested. However, the requests for information and assistance made to the state departments of education or to the U.S. Office of Education usually bring a prompt reply, and any help requested is given if possible.

Usable items that will actually be used are the ones to be included in the record forms adopted. As previously stated, record forms should be developed on the basis of information that will actually be used and can be collected rather than on the basis of information that should be collected according to some recommendations. Each proposed entry should be appraised in terms of its possible contribution to the diagnosis of the interests, abilities, capacities, aptitudes, limitations, and needs of students.

Certain questions regarding practical details should be considered before the first supply of record forms is prepared. What kind of paper or card stock should be used? How should columns and spaces be arranged? What color should the paper be? There will be general agreement on the answers to some such questions, but there will be different opinions on others. Most staff members will, no doubt, agree that all spacing should be such that eyestrain will be minimized and record reading made easy. Probably no one will question the desirability of an arrangement that permits presentation of cumulative data in time sequence so that developmental trends may be traced or will question the desirability of providing sufficient space for summary statements of the less objective data.

All, perhaps, will see the need for having the name of the school or college on each record form, but some will want it to appear always in large print, whereas others will think it should at times be in small print. All will undoubtedly agree that paper stock should be flexible, durable, and of such quality as to take ink well; but not all will agree, perhaps, regarding the color. Some will agree that buff is better than white but will consider yellow better than buff. Some will want all forms to be of the same color, whereas some others will want the different forms to be of different colors. In some cases the best answers can be easily determined through experimental use of mimeographed forms. In other cases the trial method cannot be used until after the records are adopted tentatively, and so tentative decisions must be reached through the discussion method.

The adoption of the cumulative record form agreed upon should be considered tentative. Never more than a year's supply should be ordered

even though a larger order might bring some reduction in cost. Revisions should not be made hastily, but neither should any changes needed for good reasons be delayed unnecessarily by the fact that a large supply of old forms must be used before new forms can be printed.

Revision, like the development of record forms, should be a cooperative undertaking. Revision should be based upon careful appraisal of the group's experiences with the records in use as well as upon further study of cumulative records in general. A revised form should not be adopted mainly because some staff members learned at summer school or at an institute that it is the latest thing in cumulative records. Only after the record forms adopted tentatively have been used sufficiently long for both their strong and weak points to be known should revision be considered, and only after careful study and extensive discussion should any proposed changes be made.

Maintenance and Use of Cumulative Records

When a cumulative record form has been agreed upon for tentative adoption, a bulletin of instructions should be prepared. After the record form has been tried and revised and more elaborate record forms have been adopted, the bulletin may be expanded into a manual. At first, however, it should not be so long or so detailed that it will make keeping and using records seem laborious tasks. To start with simple records and simple instructions will help teachers to gain confidence in their ability to maintain and to use good records as well as help them to gain skill in doing so.

Some definite general plan should be formulated for gathering, reporting, and recording the information to be contained in the cumulative records. While all faculty members should be responsible for reporting any significant information that they obtain about students, certain individuals should be responsible for seeing that the minimum essentials of record data are reported. To facilitate the reporting of certain types of information, forms other than the cumulative record forms may need to be developed. Supplementary report forms should be developed, however, primarily for the convenience of the reporters. Their use should be optional; rarely should it be made obligatory.

The contents are more important than the form of the report or the record. Exasperated by too much red tape, some teachers may fail to report valuable information that they might report were they free to give it in their own way—orally or jotted down on paper found at hand at the time that they are free or in the mood to make the report. It is very helpful to record clerks and to coordinators to have all reports turned in on a prescribed form; but, if the form requirement helps to lower the quality of some reports and to lessen the frequency of reporting by some

teachers, the teachers should be *instructed to report in their own way.* Many, no doubt, will choose to use the forms adopted by the group "for convenience in reporting" if the forms really do help to make reporting easy.

Confidential material should not be put into cumulative records. Among the material that should not be contained in cumulative records are information of a confidential nature obtained during counseling or from family, doctors, nurses, and others; technical information that might be misinterpreted; and information that might cause the student serious embarrassment or hurt him in some other way were the information to become common knowledge.

If some information is too confidential to be included in the cumulative record but is available upon request, the folder should contain a statement that significant information on a certain point may be obtained from a specified person. This procedure ensures the information being given in a professional setting and only to persons professionally responsible and in keeping with their ability to use the information, for it is usually given orally and in the form of general interpretation. As a rule, the cumulative records are available to clerks and secretaries who may be trained to be discreet in the use of record information; but all may not be trained to understand and appreciate the significance of some types of information. Their misconceptions and prejudices based on their *misunderstanding of record material can prove contagious and do harm* to some students. Hence, some material should not be in the records available to them.

All teachers should share in the work of collecting and reporting information on students. Not all, however, should record information on cumulative record forms. Desirably only trained record clerks should make entries on these forms. Unless all the material in the record is recorded neatly and legibly, the reading of some records will be slow and difficult. If the school is small and clerical help is not available, teachers must maintain the records. The teachers responsible for keeping the records should be the ones also responsible for counseling, each one generally keeping the records on his counselees or advisees. Together the teacher-counselors should consider various efficient and effective ways of keeping records and then decide upon the procedures to be followed by all for achieving a reasonable degree of uniformity in the records.

Cumulative records should reveal changes in specific items. In some schools it is the practice to type or to write in ink all items described as "permanent," such as parents' names, test results, school marks, and the like, and to record in pencil all items subject to change, such as home address and even vocational interest. In other schools all *information recorded on a cumulative record form is typed or written in ink.* Erasures

are made in order to correct errors, not because of change in the information previously given. The second practice seems the better one to follow.

The fact, for example, that a student may have several different home addresses during one year is important information that should have a permanent rather than a temporary place in his record. Changes in address made over a period of years may give some evidence regarding socioeconomic status of the family and may reveal change in status—improvement or decline. Information regarding changes in home address may also show that at certain times the student had to adjust to a change in neighborhood and, perhaps, in friendships. Changes in vocational interest are not unusual, but they are important and should be reported. Obviously, a cumulative record that shows the vocational interests expressed by a student throughout his school years is more useful to the counselor and to the student than a record that shows only the most recently expressed vocational interest.

In all schools, large or small, counselors should play major roles in the record service for their counselees. If adequate clerical assistance is provided, the counselors need not make entries on the records or fill in the forms to be included in record folders, envelopes, or booklets; but they should prepare many record statements and should prepare most, if not all, summaries of the less objective data gathered on their counselees. If properly trained and instructed, clerks can enter on the records test results, school marks, and the like; can summarize results from mimeographed copies of rating or behavior-description scales and indicate on the record copy of the scale the number of teachers who give a student specific ratings or descriptions for certain traits; and can do other such things without any special assistance from the counselors. It is the counselor, however, rather than the record clerk who should prepare the summaries of anecdotal material, general comments by teachers, biographical material, and the like for the clerk to type or to write upon the record forms.

Counselors should be well acquainted with the material in the records on their counselees. Many a student loses respect for his counselor chiefly because each time he has a conference with his counselor, he must repeat information previously given during conferences, in questionnaires, or in some other way. A counselor may think that in asking a student certain questions he is displaying a personal interest in him. The student, however, may consider the questions only evidence of lack of any real interest in him. The counselor who does not ask the student what he did last summer, which college he is planning to enter, or whether he has a week-end job this year but, instead, refers to the student's summer experiences, makes some remark about the college that the student wants

to attend, or comments about the week-end job that the student now has shows his interest *in the student by* remembering just what the student has told him before or has reported about himself on the registration card or in some other way. The student then feels that he is important to the counselor, that the counselor does not forget all about him as soon as he leaves the office and another student comes in.

Cumulative records should be used by all faculty members; so they should be placed where all may use them easily. Counselors may want to have for their special use copies of some reports on their counselees. Whenever possible, copies should be made for the counselor and for any other person, such as the vice-principal, especially concerned with the material reported. In schools that have secretaries and/or certain mechanical duplicating facilities the preparation of duplicate sets of records *is not difficult. In other schools, however, duplicate sets are not usually* possible because of the amount of extra work involved.

Efficient record keeping and effective use of records *is aided by provision for record offices that, ideally, are centrally located, adequately* staffed, well lighted, and sufficiently well provided with the equipment needed (file cabinets, tables, chairs, and the like) and have inner offices or cubicles in which staff members may study records and use them in conferences with other persons.

At times the room, the facilities, and the clerical staff needed for a good record service are available; but the records are not. A staff member who believes that certain records belong to him rather than the institution or who is unwilling to give up the convenience of having the records always at hand in his office *is able to defeat all efforts to move* the records to some other place where they will be easily available to others as well as to him. *Sometimes this problem can be solved by* preparing a duplicate set of records for use in the record office. Much time, energy, and patience, as well as supplies, are wasted, however, in preparing two or more sets of records when one would suffice were all staff members willing to acknowledge that cumulative records are for use by *all members and that all members can be trained to use the records in a* professional manner and to safeguard them against abuse.

The use of responsible record clerks (*not students*) and the adoption of regulations regarding use of the records and of the record office are aids to professional use of records and are means for *preventing misuse.* Providing such aids and trusting to the good judgment of other staff members will bring better results in the way of cooperative provision of *record service* than will displaying a dog-in-the-manger attitude and expressing a lack of confidence in the competence and professional integrity of coworkers.

A few schools, such as El Monte (Calif.) Union High School, are so

fortunate as to have a guidance building. The floor plan for the one at El Monte is shown on the next page. The cumulative records are kept in this building, in a fireproof room, near the offices of the workers who use the records most frequently—the counselors and the registrars. The records are maintained by secretaries who are regularly on duty in the outer office. Full-time counselors are used in this school, instead of teacher-counselors; but the work of the counselors and of the teachers is closely related. Having a separate building for the guidance offices apparently has not contributed to separation of guidance and instruction in this school.

The guidance building at El Monte is centrally located; it is not off to one side. All teachers must visit it at least once a day; for the faculty mail and bulletin room and the office for such special services as mimeographing are located—by design, not by accident—in the guidance building. The board room is also located in this building and is often used for case conferences, in which both teachers and counselors participate. When the room is used as a conference room, the furniture is arranged to help build a productive group atmosphere. A few principal participants do not sit around the table with the other participants sitting apart as spectators and auditors. All chairs are arranged in a circle around the table, for all participants are considered principal participants, and any member may become the leader at some time during the conference.

Transfer of Cumulative Records

Cumulative records should cover the entire span of the students' school careers from kindergarten through college. To be continuous, the records must pass from level to level, from school to school, and from counselor to counselor as easily as possible. A student's records should ordinarily precede him to his new school. If the development of the records used in a particular school system has been a cooperative project, involving the coordinated efforts of workers from all levels, the records from a lower school most likely contain the information needed for use immediately as well as later in the new school. Also, workers in the higher school are able to understand and to use the information in the records from the lower school better than they might be able to do had they not shared directly or indirectly in the development of those records.

When records are transferred to another school, the sending school should keep a record that shows to whom the records were sent and when. A summary of the important material in the records, instead of the records themselves, should be sent to the state employment service, prospective employers, or others who request and need such data for helping the former student or for working successfully with him.
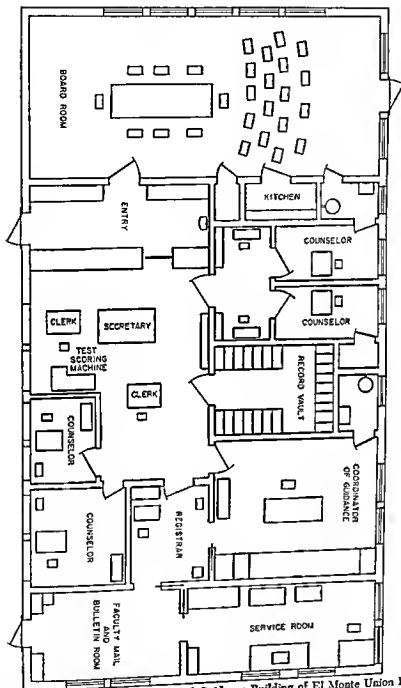
Fig. 22. Floor plan of the Research and Guidance Building of El Monte Union High School.

Cumulative record material that is worth collecting and recording is also worth keeping for possible future use. If the cumulative records of former students are not sent to some school or college, they should be taken from the active files but kept in the inactive files for at least a period of years, if not indefinitely. Should high schools keep in the future much better records than they have kept in the past, use of a student's records may not be limited to the few years during which he is enrolled in the school.

It is unfortunate that some school administrators fail to take advantage of opportunities to obtain data from the schools previously attended by their students. An example: In one elementary school the teachers are definitely pupil-conscious. They study their pupils and systematically record their findings. Excellent cumulative records, which include a card and a folder, are kept on almost all pupils in this school. The cards are sent routinely to the school next attended by the pupils; the folders are also sent when wanted. The principal of one of the two junior high schools, which receive most of the graduates from this elementary school, always asks that both the folders and the cards be sent to his school. The other principal does not want the folders to be sent with the cards, and so in due course the unwanted folders are destroyed. It is regrettable that the teachers in the second junior high school do not have the use of the valuable material usually contained in the destroyed folders. It is even more regrettable that the principal does not know how such material may be used for strengthening the guidance and the instruction offered in his school.

THE GOAL

Good cumulative records are needed in all schools. In each school the faculty should seek improvement of records in the hope that some day the school will have records with many of the characteristics attributed to good records. Such a goal cannot be reached easily or quickly, for records are not good unless used in some constructive way.

A good cumulative record gives a full view of the student. It shows him in school and out of school, at work and at play, and as the member of different groups—family, class team, club, and others. A good record gives both a clear cross-sectional and a clear longitudinal view of the student. It shows the current status of the student in different areas of growth and discloses developmental trends by showing his status in these areas at various times in the past. To give a picture of development, the record must be a continuous one; and the record entries must be dated. Undated entries may offer important facts, but just how important the facts are the record user cannot be sure. Even though the material may be arranged according to time sequence, the time interval between entries cannot be

known unless the entries are dated. Behavior that is normal or relatively unimportant at one stage of development may not be normal at another. It is important to know just when the behavior occurred if one is to understand it properly.

A good cumulative record gives a vivid picture of its subject. The inclusion of irrelevant material adds little or nothing to the picture and may blur it badly. "Canned" or stereotyped entries do not reveal how one student differs from another. Data that are not valid and reliable may give an interesting picture, but they do not give a good picture, for it is not the right one. In short, good records are comprehensive, containing pertinent, accurate information continuously gathered and systematically recorded over a period of years.

Some of the specific advantages of good records stressed in the literature have been summarized as follows:[21]

A good record contributes to personnel work in general by providing a sound basis for understanding the individual, by showing his significant experiences, by indicating his readiness for new experiences, and by pointing out the routes to new goals. It aids teachers in the study of the individual by making it possible for them to understand his present through an analysis of his past, by furnishing clues regarding the causes of his behavior difficulties and failures, and by disclosing his strengths and weaknesses. It aids counseling in particular by permitting the worker to use the interview time for counseling rather than for collecting information. It aids curriculum revision and improvement of teaching by revealing the needs of students and their progress toward specific goals. And it aids articulation by contributing to continuity and by providing a helpful basis for educational and vocational placement. However, to provide these advantages, the record must offer in a meaningful form all the information needed by the worker.

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he perceives a diminishing relevancy of new facts, ho makes a tentative summary.

In the book from which this excerpt is taken Williamson gives 12 illustrative cases that show not only the diagnoses and the data on which the diagnoses are based but also the counseling techniques used in these cases.

As a Research Method. To research workers the case study is useful both for gathering data and for reporting findings. The usefulness of the case study method for scientific investigations is limited, however, for the following reasons: (1) Case study procedures are not standardized. Case studies of the same person made by two investigators may differ in a number of important aspects. (2) There is a special problem with respect to sampling. Murray,[11] for example, in reporting an experimental study of 50 college men, states that "there are so many varieties of human nature that there is little probability that fifty subjects chosen at random will constitute a fair sample of any much larger group." This same statement can probably be applied to the number of subjects chosen for other investigations. (3) The reliability and validity of case study material cannot be checked to any great extent through the use of statistical methods; for, as Jones[12] says, the main emphasis in case studies is "on unstandardized and unmeasurable data." Validity must be checked by verifying information from one source against that obtained from others and by checking inconsistencies in speech and behavior. Likewise, reliability must be checked by such internal evidence as accuracy of account and logical sequence; for the chief test of reliability is, according to Jones,[13] "the truthful and complete unfolding of pertinent data."

In spite of such limitations, some authorities consider the case study one of the most useful research methods for studying the whole personality and find it a practical means for applying the developmental point of view. Murray,[14] for example, in reporting his elaborate clinical and experimental study, regretted that it was not possible to include more than one case study; "for case histories are the proof of the pudding." Young summarizes some of the special advantages of the method as follows:[15]

The defense of the life-history device has usually taken the form of pointing out that it provides a *more or less continuous picture* through time of the individual's narration and interpretation of his own experiences and often of that of others around him. It is said to be peculiarly valuable in providing a view of the inner life. It furnishes an account of past situations which gave

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[11] Murray et al., op. cit., p. 730.
[12] E. S. Jones, op. cit., p. 160.
[13] Ibid., p. 165.
[14] Murray et al., op. cit., p. 606.
[15] Young, op. cit., p. 320. Used by permission of Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.

rise to new meanings and new habits; that is, it gives information on the origins of subjective life as well as of overt conduct. In particular it indicates the place which crises have had in the development of new traits, attitudes, meanings, and habits. When prolonged interviews are used, such as are found in psychoanalysis, or other extensive clinical contacts, the method yields rich data respecting the operation of unconscious motivations, mental processes, and the specific effects of repression. It also helps to frame questions and hypotheses to be tested by further life-history analysis or by the application of experimental or statistical methods.

More than this, this technique has possibilities for interpreting personality which the other methods, so far, have not given us; that is, it furnishes a framework for compiling relevant data about one individual, keeping attention upon both his common self and his unique qualities. Within the context of the single person's life story, specific events in relation to other events and to external situations take on significant meaning. And, if we compare a series of such analyses of individuals, we may formulate some generalizations about both subjective life and overt conduct.

The case study is one of the procedures employed for collecting data or for reporting findings in certain important investigations of adolescence. In the study conducted by the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, set up in 1932 by the Progressive Education Association, the fundamental purpose was to gather material for a fuller understanding of adolescent personality. A staff, made up of educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, social workers, anthropologists, and others, collected material about ordinary students in typical school situations by using entire classes in private and public secondary schools and colleges in different parts of the country. To this group were added a limited number of older adolescents to serve as sources of information about the problems and responsibilities of postschool youth. The more than 600 case studies made of these boys and girls provided the raw material for the study. This method was used because, according to Zachary,[16] it was felt that the intensive and many-faceted study of single cases could reveal most clearly the consistent trends underlying the apparent inconsistencies in adolescent behavior and could bring out the multiplicity of factors influencing the individual adolescent and thereby offer "a sound basis for educational diagnosis and for judging the changes likely to result from one educational course of action or another." Four of the cases—cases of not-unusual adolescents—are given *in full in one report*[17] on the study.

A report by H. E. Jones on the California Adolescent Growth Study is also in the form of a case study, which is a combination of the cross-

[16] Caroline B. Zachary, "Foreword," in Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*, p. viii. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941. Used by permission of the publisher.

[17] *Ibid.*

sectional and longitudinal types. In fact, Jones[18] describes it as "a 'montage' rather than a single integrated picture" of the subject's adolescence. In this report a series of special views of development are presented which show an adolescent boy at home, at school, and in social group situations. They show him as he is seen by parents, teachers, age mates, and by himself; they picture his physical development; they indicate his motor and mental abilities, interests and attitudes; and they provide the basis for an interpretive study of his underlying tendencies in the realm of emotion and motivation. The total gives a good picture of one boy and of his struggle for maturity.

In an experimental study reported by Rothney and Roens[19] the guidance workers participating in the experiment developed case studies not only in order to collect data but in order to keep records of their procedures so that others might apply them when undertaking similar tasks. Ten cases are included in the report to show "some problems of American adolescents." Other investigators have also found the case study an effective method for reporting results from their studies.

For the General Purpose of Increased Understanding. In student personnel work use of the case study for research purposes is not often reported. Most frequently it is used in the study of students for the general purpose of helping them to achieve better adjustment and development Occasionally case studies are made primarily for inservice training purposes. Use for this purpose is considered in the next chapter on the case conference, and so no further attention is given to it here.

In high schools and colleges, unlike in clinics, case studies should not be used solely as a basis for therapy but should be used primarily as a means to better understanding of individual students so that teachers and other staff members may perceive the potentialities and strongest inclinations of these students and provide the type of instruction and guidance needed for aiding good development. Treatment and follow-up are implied in any case study, but the treatment should be developmental and preventive in nature as well as, or instead of, corrective. Every case study, including the ones made for research and instructional purposes, should be used to promote the welfare of the individual studied.

SELECTING THE SUBJECT

There is probably no other technique as useful as the case study for helping student personnel workers to understand the complexities of a student's life. Even when the number of students assigned the worker

[18] Harold E. Jones, *Development in Adolescence*, p. 152. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1943.

[19] J. W. M. Rothney and B. A. Roens, *Guidance of American Youth*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950.

(homeroom teacher, adviser, teacher-counselor, counselor, etc.) is so great that he has little time for making case studies, he should try to make at least one a year. If he regularly makes one case study a year and each year selects a different type of student for study, the cumulative value from his use of the method can be great. If most student personnel workers in a particular school adopt the practice of making at least one case study a year and if from time to time some member reports on his case to the others, it would be well for all members of the group to decide together at the beginning of the year the students or types of students to be studied so that as far as possible these students may be representative of the total group.

Too many student personnel workers make case studies only of deviates, perhaps because the subjects of case studies reported in the literature by clinical workers are usually "interesting problem cases." Clinics are established for the purpose of aiding the maladjusted; so we can expect the subjects of clinical case studies to be individuals in need of therapy. Schools, however, are established to serve all youth, all of whom have problems and some very serious ones, it is true, but most of whom are not ordinarily thought of as "problem cases." Because problem students attract and often require more attention than others, such students are selected more often than others for intensive study. Special study should be made of them, and special attention should be directed toward providing or securing for them the special assistance needed, but other students should also be made the subjects of intensive study. Case studies should be made of average students, superior students, and well-adjusted students as well as of students who are defective, delinquent, and maladjusted.

The case studies made by school people most frequently deal with problem students; less often are they made of superior students; and rarely are they concerned with average students. Some authorities protest this situation. Pressey and Robinson,[20] for example, assert that "the largest, most diverse, and in many respects least understood of all types" of students *is the so-called "average" student,* whereas Woodworth[21] says that the neglected student is the superior or brilliant boy or girl. He writes as follows:

Case studies of outstandingly fine or successful persons are decidedly lacking so far. The behavior clinics are conducted for the benefit of those who have got into trouble; and the adult, unless he has got into trouble of some sort, is sensitive about being probed. If we could tell in advance that a given newborn baby was going to become great or fine, we could study his develop-

[20] Pressey and Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 329.
[21] R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology,* 4th ed., p. 14. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1940.

ment as it proceeded. A biography, written long afterward, is almost sure to be meager and unpsychological in its account of the subject's early development. Now that many children, including some of great promise, are being studied, we may hope in time to possess some authentic developmental biographies of normal and superior people.

School people are aware of the importance of superior students in the conservation of our human resources and are showing this awareness through increased interest in the study of such students. The secondary-school principals, for example, who cooperated in the study by Rothney and Roens wished a large proportion of the experimental group to be superior students. In asking teachers to recommend students to be considered for selection, the principals directed attention to two groups of students—those of exceptionally high ability and those in need of special assistance—by instructing the teachers to use the following guides in making their recommendations:[22]

1. Children of exceptionally high achievement. (Note subject-field in which they excel.)
2. Children who show exceptionally high ability in Art.
3. Children who show exceptionally high ability in Music.
4. Children who show exceptional skill in practical arts or printing.
5. Children who are very persistent in striving for success.
6. Children who are trying very hard against great obstacles.
7. Children who constantly present behavior problems in class.
8. Children who do not seem to be able to do the work of the grade.
9. Children whose behavior makes them appear to be "Model."
10. Any other child you would like to see tested. Please give the reason.

Of the 129 students selected by the principals, 69 were listed as being superior and 60 as being in need of special help. Although no reason was given by the principals for weighting the group in favor of superior students, the investigators thought that it was done "in the belief that the usual guidance program overlooks the mentally superior child and otherwise gifted child." Later, however, it was found that actually the group was not weighted with superior students. "Among them were a number of very personable individuals who could get high marks but whose performance on tests was only mediocre." As Pressey and Robinson might say, some average students got into the group by accident.

Guidance workers in the same school, who are interested in systematizing the selection of subjects for case studies in order to extend the benefits from such work to as many students as possible and interested in increasing the interest and cooperation of as many other staff members

as possible, might ask the others to recommend students for study. Guides similar to the ones given above might be developed to call attention to all types, instead of two or three only. If the guidance people think that a particular group of student is being overlooked, attention can be focused upon the neglected students by having more studies made of them than of others. It is doubtful, however, that a faculty should ever limit the case studies made during a particular year to students of one type only.

COLLECTING THE DATA

Pressey and Robinson[23] call attention to three shortcomings in many case studies of students: (1) Ordinarily the case study is limited in scope. It pictures the student as a class member rather than as a total personality, giving an incomplete view of him in school and none at all of him out of school. (2) Certain important and available sources of information are not utilized. (3) The study is based on superficial inquiry, not penetrating through the rationalizations and preconceptions and prejudices to the basic underlying stresses and conflicts of points of view.

Data for the case study should be collected from every possible source and can be collected through a number of procedures. The four cases reported by Blos,[24] for example, contain material from school records, observational material, autobiographical and other "self-expressive" material, and interview material. The material for the illustrative cases included in one of Williamson's[25] books was gathered largely through three procedures—tests, interviews, and an elaborate questionnaire that includes self-analysis as well as factual-information items. The material for the case reported by H. E. Jones[26] was gathered through the use of many techniques—physiological measurements, motor tests, tests of intelligence and achievement, self-reports, photographic records, projective techniques, interviews, observations, and special devices for learning the opinions held of the subject by his associates.

At times the case study is based on material collected through the use of only one or two procedures, usually observation and the interview. A collection, however, of anecdotal records or of interview reports is not in itself a case study. To become a case study, the material must be synthesized, interpreted, and summarized in some organized form. (See Chap. 6.)

[23] Pressey and Robinson, *op. cit.,* pp. 325-328.

[24] Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941.

[25] E. C. Williamson, *op. cit.,* pp. 285-536.

[26] H. E. Jones, *op. cit.*

THE SCOPE AND FORM

There is oo standard outline for the case study. Some authorities have developed outlines that they recommend for consideration by clinical workers and which can be modified for use by school workers. In most outlines for use by clinical workers attention is given to some items that will ordinarily not be included or considered to any great extent by personnel workers in secondary schools and colleges. Among such items are those dealing with circumstances of birth; certain matters *regarding* development in early childhood, such as age of sitting, bladder and bowel control, and the like; and sexual development. Such matters are important, and information about them contained in records received from the lower schools should be included in the case study. Generally, however, unless the worker is trained in the techniques of history taking and in interpreting such material, he may through his bungling embarrass the student and provoke criticism against himself.

There is given below a list rather than an outline of the information that desirably should be included in the case study of a student. This list is based in part upon certain other lists and outlines found in the literature.[27] The method should be kept flexible, so no specific pattern or plan is recommended with respect to order, emphasis, form, and the like. Not all the factors listed below will be investigated in every case. Moreover, detailed information cannot usually be given for all the items; but the information given should be as specific as possible. Incidents on which generalizations are based should be reported along with the generalizations, and throughout the report sources of information should be cited.

In general, the case study should include as much information as possible about the following:

1. *Name of worker and date of report.* If different parts are written at different times, each part should be dated.

2. *Identifying data on subject.* Name, address, age, date and place of birth, race, and school grade. Adviser or counselor. General appearance of subject and impression made upon others.

3. *Problem* (if study is made because subject seems in need of special assistance). Nature, onset, seriousness, frequency and duration (chrono-

[27] Shaffer, *op. cit.,* pp. 448–451.

E. W. Tiegs and Barney Katz, *Mental Hygiene in Education,* pp. 193–195. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1941.

Thorne, *op. cit.,* pp. 146–147.

Jane Warters, *High School Personnel Work Today,* p. 62. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946.

Young, *op. cit.,* pp. 819–824.

logical order). Previous attempts to diagnose and eliminate difficulty. Feelings and attitude of subject toward problem. Opinions and attitudes of parents, teachers, and others, such as school nurse and doctor.

4. *Family.* Name, age, sex, and educational attainment of family members living in home or closely associated with subject. Other persons, such as boarders, living in home but not of immediate family. Residential history of family (rural, small town, urban). Immigrant background if pertinent. (Less attention is given now than formerly to background information about grandparents and parents and subject's early childhood experiences unless such information has special significance.) Occupations of wage earners. Special health problems of any member. *Religious affiliation(s).* Apparent socioeconomic status. Special culture patterns. Nature of home life and quality of interpersonal relations. Subject's adjustment and special role in family. Attitudes of other members toward him. Method and amount of parental control.

5. *Physical health data.* Findings of medical examination(s). Growth characteristics, nutrition, and general health. Attitude of subject toward his health and appearance.

6. *Objective test data and interpretation.*

7. *Educational history and achievement.* Progress in past. Present status not only in terms of marks but also in terms of other objectives, such as appreciations, creative expression, good work habits, and the like. Attitude toward school. Special abilities and disabilities. Strong likes and dislikes with regard to school courses and activities. Educational plans and ambitions. Conduct problems, if any. Attitudes of teachers toward subject.

8. *Social development.* Sociability and adaptability. Companions and close associates. Rivalries. Group affiliations. Nature and extent of participation in groups. Acceptance by others. Status in various groups. Relations to neighbors and other adults in community. Social competence and confidence. Recreational interests and diversions. Recreational facilities. Special interests and accomplishments. Significant experiences. Civic participation in and out of school. Asocial tendencies. Court record if any.

9. *Emotional development.* General mental health. Predominant moods. Stability and excitability. Sense of self-confidence. Attitude toward self. Significant limitations. Symptoms of conflicts, such as tics, stuttering, tantrums, truancy, lying, stealing, etc.

10. *Work experience.* Place and dates (from _____ to _____) of employment. Nature of work done. Attitude toward work.

11. *Vocational plans and ambitions.*

12. *General appraisal, interpretation, and tentative hypotheses.*

13. *Recommendations.*

14. *Follow-up report.*

WRITING THE CASE STUDY

The case study need not be written according to any particular form or in any special style. Many authorities believe that a somewhat casual free type of report is to be preferred to a formal type. The length will vary with the case and the use to be made of the study. The report should not be overlong because the writer includes much irrelevant material or because, as E. S. Jones[28] says, the writer wanders around in the early life of the subject looking for the "causes of unemployment or other maladjustment, when it is really not the individual's fault or the cause is quite recent." On the other hand, there is danger of making the case study too short and thereby neglecting points that are significant. Many writers believe with Shaffer[29] that "it is better to gather and report too much information than too little."

Whether long or short, written in formal manner or in free descriptive and narrative style, the case study should present as accurate and as objective an account and as complete and dynamic a picture as possible. The writer should, as a rule, avoid technical terminology; and he should make it a rule to shun loose generalizations. Every possible care should be taken to avoid such common sources of inaccuracies as errors in perception, especially as to what is seen and heard; falsification of memory; unconscious omissions; tendency to dramatize; projection of one's own ideas, attitudes, values, and the like into the report; inclination to pay special attention to unusual and striking incidents and to neglect the commonplace and small details that may have special significance in the light of the whole.

To understand and interpret the student's inner life as revealed in his autobiography and other creative writings, in his speech and behavior during the interview, and the like, the worker must be able to identify himself sympathetically with the student and at the same time retain his role of the critic who stands to one side to observe and to appraise. In the words of Murray,[20] the worker needs to have the capacity for "critical empathy." This means that the worker, while reading the student's writings, listening to the student, and observing him, is able to perceive things as the student sees them, is able to assume the student's frame of reference, so to speak; but, in interpreting that which he reads, sees, and hears, the worker resumes his own role of objective critic, interested but emotionally uninvolved. At one moment he is in the situation, trying to feel as the student feels; at another he is outside the situation, taking care

[28] E. S. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
[29] Shaffer, *op. cit.*, p. 447.
[20] Murray *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

to maintain the emotional distance necessary for impersonal objective appraisal of both the situation and the student.

Generalizations and conclusions should be developed from the data rather than from the writer's theories although, of course, the report will undoubtedly be colored by the writer's philosophy and point of view. The worker must take care not to generalize from too few instances or from atypical instances. He should consider all his hypotheses tentative. In calling attention to confirmatory data, he should point also to contraindications. In taking stock, he should not sort the data to prove some point or points, bringing all supporting evidence into full view and discarding or covering up other evidence. Actually his purpose should be not to prove any point but to see all parts of the picture and the interrelations among the parts so that he may analyze the complex pattern of the whole and perceive the underlying meanings and implications.

Interpretations, recommendations for treatment—treatment for developmental and preventive purposes as well as for remedial purposes—and reports on efforts to carry out recommendations and to provide treatment should be included in the case study. As long as the student is in the school, the worker should periodically bring the study up to date by reporting additional information on the subject's development and the results from efforts to aid development and adjustment. If the student is referred to some other person for special assistance or therapy, reports from the other person should be incorporated in the case study or appended to it.

THE SHORT-CONTACT CASE STUDY

Social case workers commonly have short-contact relationships with some clients. The case studies made on such clients are necessarily short and limited in scope. In most schools under present conditions of student personnel work many, if not most, students are short-contact cases. The counselor sees the student briefly only once or twice a term or year. While these short contacts may have value for some students in that they may help to relieve the tension created by some immediate problem, they may be more frustrating than helpful to other students who want help and who resent not being given more adequate help than that made possible by short-contact procedures.

The short contact, as Wilson[11] says, usually makes it necessary for attention to be focused on a single purpose, which in the school situation is too often one selected by the counselor or adviser. The counselor, for example, contacts the student in order to help him plan his program for

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[11] Robert S. Wilson, *The Short Contact in Social Work*, Vol. I, p. 26. New York: National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service, 1937.

the next term or to ascertain his vocational plans or to find out whether
the student is participating in any extracurricular activity or to get some
other information from the student or to give him some item of informa-
tion, such as the fact that his program must be changed because two of
the courses selected come at the same hour. If the short contact is initiated
by the student rather than by the counselor, attention is likely to be
given only to the problem first presented by the student, which may or
may not be the real one. If the relationship is not prolonged sufficiently
or is not renewed before long, the really important problem may never
come to the surface and so may never be considered.

Short-contact work that is superficial or hastily done because of too
little time or too little interest is misuse of the technique. As Strang[32] says:

> The short contact is misused when there is no interplay between worker and
> client; when it is employed primarily because the worker's case load is too
> heavy to permit more time for each client; when the worker, not adequately
> trained, replaces sensitivity to the situation by a formula; when the worker at-
> tempts too much in a brief contact or attempts to force his decisions upon the
> client in order to save time.

Short contacts are not needed in student personnel work for the same
reason that often makes them necessary in social work. Students are not
transient cases in the sense that many social work cases are. Most students
are in their particular school situations sufficiently long for their coun-
selors not to have to resort to short-contact methods, except when such
methods are wholly applicable. Furthermore, the fact must not be over-
looked that in student personnel work contact is established with most
students more for the purpose of aiding development and preventing
maladjustment than for the purpose of providing remedial assistance and
therapy.

Nevertheless, there is a place for short contact in student personnel
work just as there is in social work. In many instances the nature of the
student's problem or request for service is such that no more than a short
contact is needed. A good understanding of the situation can be gained by
both the worker and the student through a relatively telescoped case
study. In short contact the worker does not make so extensive an investi-
gation as in the long contact, but he makes his investigation no less in-
tently. He does not resort to guesses or stereotyped conclusions nor limit
his efforts mainly to prescribing or preaching at the student. Instead, he
employs procedures that are very much the same as the ones used in the
long contact. He considers all available data and tries to perceive the
major relevant characteristics of the case, to identify symptoms, and to
determine causes so that he may make a sound diagnosis and provide
appropriate treatment or arrange for referral to someone else.

[32] Strang, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

Many class teachers make good use of short contacts for helping the members of their classes whom they observe to be in need of assistance or, if they consider any cases beyond their competency, for establishing the type of relationship that will enable them to help the students to understand and to accept the need for referral to others able to give them the help needed.

ONE EXAMPLE

Rothney and Roens make effective use of the case study for reporting some of the findings from an experimental study. One of the ten cases reported here in its entirety. It is the case of Nelson, a brilliant, physically vigorous, well-adjusted, and well-liked boy who accepted the limitations produced by his family's poverty and, consequently, would probably never have continued his formal education beyond high school had he not received special assistance from his counselor. The investigators consider this boy's problems typical of those commonly encountered by gifted children whose families are not in the upper levels of the economic scale. Needless to say, we need to make case studies of more students like Nelson so that we may help such students to realize their superior potentialities.

In reading this case study,[31] a worker in the actual school situation would, no doubt, have at hand the boy's *cumulative record* to use as a source of additional information regarding names, addresses, test data, course marks, and the like. Also, this case study is written in the past tense, probably because it is part of a report on a completed investigation. Ordinarily the present is the basic tense used in writing a case study.

Nelson[32]

Nelson was referred to the guidance counselor in the eighth grade by the principal of a junior high school as a boy with very high ability and ambition who needed assistance in financing further education. His family was unable to provide any aid, and it appeared likely that his very high achievements and sense of responsibility could not be utilized to their fullest if he were forced to go to work as soon as he reached the legal age of school-leaving.

Interpretation of Test Record

Nelson made superior scores on every test administered to him over a five-year period. On the Stanford-Binet Test (old form) his I.Q. score was 145, and this appeared to approximate his true score. In the fields of reading, lan-

guage, mathematics, spatial facility, and speed and accuracy as measured by a clerical test, he scored above the 85th percentile for five consecutive years. Although the scores on the personality schedule suggested some emotional maladjustment, no other evidence substantiated this finding. On the Strong Vocational Interest Blank for Men, he obtained an A rating in group I and group II, which might have indicated that his interests were most similar to chemists, engineers, mathematicians, architects, artists, dentists, and physicians. Other evidence indicated the same interest in occupations at a professional level.

Family Data

Nelson was the second of three children of American-born parents. His mother died when he was about four years old, and when he was six, his father remarried. There were no children from his father's second marriage. His father had been in very poor health since the first World War, and his earnings as a craftsman had been very meager. His stepmother, who was employed as a secretary, was the main support of the family. Nelson's older brother was attending a Midwestern college where he was considered to be an exceedingly brilliant student. A younger sister attended junior high school. She was not as successful as her brothers in academic work.

The home relationship between the parents and the children was excellent. Nelson's stepmother was very devoted to the children. She was very cooperative with the counselor, and she was a frequent visitor to his office.

Health Data

Nelson was somewhat underweight according to the health records in the school, but he received excellent home care. His stepmother had been very careful about his diet and occasionally seemed somewhat oversolicitous about his physical condition. Routine school medical examinations did not reveal any physical defects or disabilities. A slight ocular disability was corrected adequately by glasses.

Leisure-time Activities

Nelson's major hobby was collecting phonograph records of classical music. His interest in music was strong. Whenever possible, he attended symphony concerts and seemed to gain a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction from them. Bicycling was a major interest which persisted throughout his secondary school years. He took several long bicycle trips through neighboring states.

Nelson was somewhat timid in social gatherings, and during his early high-school career, he avoided attending class dances and parties. In his senior year he sought such positions as ticket-taker at class dances so that he was not obliged to invite a girl. In discussing these activities with the counselor he attributed them to timidity in social functions, but the counselor believed that need for money played an important part in this lack of participation.

Work Experience

During the time that Nelson was in the ninth and tenth grades, he sold newspapers at a junction of the main traffic arteries leading out of town, and for a newsboy, his earnings were fairly large. He was markedly responsible in this job, and he carried on when others with less drive were unwilling to face

disturbing circumstances. During the summers both he and his brother did sufficient odd-job work to pay for their own clothes and school expenses. After Nelson had entered the eleventh grade, he gave up his newspaper work because it interfered with school studies.

Vocational Choice

Grade 8   Science, probably engineering: *This decision was probably influenced by his readings in science.*

Grade 9   Same

Grade 10   Same

Grade 11   Science and teaching: *Probably influenced by his success in chemistry and by his admiration for the chemistry teacher.*

Grade 12   Same: *The exactness of science appealed to him. He was considering teaching because of its security and immediate income after college graduation and because he thought he would like to work with young people.*

Progress of Counseling

Nelson was a tall, thin, rangy, clean-cut boy with an engaging smile. During many interviews the counselor found him to be courteous, honest, straightforward, and attentive. He was one of the most conscientious pupils in the school in the matter of filling out questionnaires administered to him.

During the first interviews with him in the eighth grade the counselor saw immediately that Nelson would need help to continue his studies, and he discussed the problem of scholarship aid for further education. Nelson was told that his chances for such help were excellent if he did the school work of which he was capable. He was encouraged to do more than his regular class work in order to obtain as high marks as possible. With his cooperation, a school program for the ninth grade, which would not be too heavy in view of his newspaper work, was outlined. Science and engineering seemed to interest him as possible occupational choices, and the counselor gave him some general reading material covering these fields. During subsequent interviews these readings were discussed, and Nelson seemed to have a fairly good idea about what these vocations involved.

In the ninth grade, Nelson won a medal in a national contest for an essay on Graphic Arts. He had entered this contest without consulting his teachers or parents. The counselor made Nelson aware of the emphasis by colleges on "all-around boys," and worked out a program with him for participation in athletics and other extracurricular activities. As a result, Nelson campaigned for and won election as president of the Student Council, and he also became a member of the track team. He was very successful in all these activities. Although he was an all A student, he seemed to be popular with the other boys and was regarded more as a "regular fellow" than as a "sissy" or "teacher's pet."

In the tenth grade, Nelson and the counselor selected a program of only four subjects because it seemed desirable for the boy to do very well on these instead of carrying a heavier program with the lesser chance of keeping up

his fine academic record. Later, when Nelson found that this load was too light, he decided to study Greek on his own.

Science still seemed to interest him a great deal, and his interest was further stimulated by his success in mathematics. Nelson and the counselor discussed several times the vocational possibilities for him in that field.

During the summer of this school year, Nelson worked with his brother. They cared for lawns in the community and their earnings were sufficient to keep them in clothes and to cover expenses for the following school year.

Shortly after Nelson entered the tenth grade, a long interview was held with his stepmother, at her request, concerning the problem of permitting Nelson to continue in the college-preparatory course. She thought that there was no prospect of financial help for college. She thought that he should take a course to prepare him for some immediate occupation, for she doubted that a partial scholarship would be sufficient to keep him in college. During this interview the counselor indicated that Nelson's chances for getting a substantial scholarship were very good. If this was not obtained, the alternative of having him work for a year after graduation from high school before going to college was considered. As a result of this interview, his stepmother decided that he should continue in the college course. Apparently, financial conditions at home were difficult because the counselor noted a very strong desire on Nelson's part to get out of school as soon as possible to earn money. He had strong feelings concerning his obligation to support the family, but the counselor pointed out that he probably could be of more help to his parents in the future if he obtained a college education.

With respect to extracurricular activities for this year, Nelson was confronted with the problem of studying piano or joining the debating club because he felt that there was not sufficient time for both. The pros and cons were discussed with him, and he made the choice of piano. When the decision had been made, he practiced one hour daily. He was able to obtain lessons free of charge from a friend. It was during this year that his interest in music increased greatly, and much of his leisure time was spent at concerts or in reading about music and musicians.

The summer following completion of the tenth grade he had a fairly extensive paper route and did odd jobs in the neighborhood.

When he returned to school in the fall, his morning and evening paper routes seemed to take too much time, and because he seemed to have sufficient money to carry him through the school year, he decided to discontinue them.

In discussing occupations with the counselor, he became somewhat discouraged about engineering because of what he considered to be the poor prospects in the field at that time. His interest in high-school teaching increased. He obtained a good deal of pleasure from his work in chemistry and became quite friendly with a chemistry teacher whom he admired.

After the midyear holiday of his eleventh school year, his stepmother became ill, and Nelson took over a number of the household duties. He did the cooking, washing, and ironing, as well as house-cleaning, so that he had very little time for homework or extracurricular activities. Except for his concern

Eleven Years after Initial Counseling

Six years after Nelson had graduated from high school, the counselor obtained the following information *in an interview* with him.

At college Nelson received honor grades in all courses except a half-course in philosophy and a course in physics which was known to be exceedingly difficult. His work was good enough to permit acceleration, and he graduated in three and one-half years cum laude in electronic physics.

Following graduation he was *deferred from military service* and assigned to do some secret work in physics in a naval research project until the war ended. At that time, he continued his graduate work in physics, earned his master's degree, and received a generous fellowship which permitted him to carry on the work for his doctorate. Upon completion of that work in 1947, he planned to seek a university appointment which would enable him to do research in electronics.

Nelson married a girl whom he met at a church function, shortly after graduation. His parents were not particularly pleased about his marriage because they thought that it would handicap his efforts. His wife has, however, worked while he has been a graduate student, and has contributed much to his success. Nelson says that he is very happily married. His parents have been somewhat concerned about his independence since he has had sufficient financial support, but he has a strong feeling of responsibility toward his family, and both he and his wife have given some of their earnings to the family when they were in need.

The authors of this case study are fully aware that Nelson might have gone to college without any special assistance from his counselor or teachers. They know that the basic factors in the boy's earning a college degree are his abilities and his willingness to put them to good use, but they see the counselor's persistence as being also an important factor. They add:[25]

The fact, however, that his parents urged him to change to a more practical course and the fact that he felt a strong obligation to make immediate contributions to the support of his family make it seem likely that he would have dropped into the commercial course to prepare himself for a job after he had completed high school. He would, therefore, not have had enough academic credits for college entrance if there had been a change in fortune, and would have found the work with less capable students lacking in challenge. In doing so he would have done as many others in public high schools have done, to their sorrow. The statistics . . . indicate that such persons are not happy about their vocational or social placements.

. . . When we consider the particular case of Nelson there is very little reason to believe that his character was weakened by the assistance which the counselor provided. He sought information and advice, but he was intelligent enough to weigh carefully the information which he obtained. He did not lean

* *Ibid.,* pp. 21–22.

upon the counselor, and when his share of the job of getting financial aid was outlined, he accepted it and put forth his best. With his abilities, his drive, his desire to learn, and his industry it seems that he might have been successful in almost anything that he undertook. If college can serve any young person, Nelson is the kind who should be served, and society cannot afford to neglect the potential contribution of a boy of his caliber. The counselors, who knew him for five full years, were convinced that this boy could be assisted without loss to him as an individual, and with gain to society. Not all of the students of superior ability who were studied could have received the same treatment as this lad without loss, but Nelson's rare combination of abilities, traits, and stamina were outstanding, and the counselor's actions appeared to have been thoroughly justified. Such students are too precious to ignore in the routine school procedures which schools without guidance services provide.

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The Case Conference

The case study is probably the most useful method for revealing and evaluating long-term trends in a person's development, and the case conference is probably the best method for synthesizing or coordinating and interpreting data gathered from various sources. As defined by Fenton,[1] the case conference is "a single though fairly long conference" during which there is an "orderly presentation of all the facts and points of view" regarding a student. The conference method is commonly used in child-guidance and mental-hygiene clinics and is generally considered a contribution to student personnel work from the child-guidance and mental-hygiene fields of work.

The case conference is used in different forms and for different purposes. In some schools staff members who are specialists in guidance, psychology, mental hygiene, and health regularly hold case conferences for the specific purpose of studying the records on a particular student, hearing special reports on the case, and making definite recommendations for treatment. At times teachers who know the student very well because of their special relationships with him as his homeroom teacher, coach, music teacher, or the like may be asked to attend the conference. Frequently, however, oral or written statements are secured from such persons in advance and reported at the conference by one of the regular participants.

When, however, the case conference is held for the twofold purpose of providing inservice training for nonspecialists and securing special study of a student so that he may be given any help needed, the conference participants include not only the specialists but also all staff members who are directly concerned with the case or can supply pertinent information because of their present or past association with the student. Other staff members who are not actively involved in the case but who want to attend for study purposes generally are permitted and encouraged to do so. It is this type of case conference—the one attended by non-

[1] Norman Fenton, *Mental Hygiene in School Practice*, p. 71. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1943.

specialists as well as specialists and arranged for focusing attention upon students as individuals and for helping teachers to acquire understanding and skill in guidance practices—that we are concerned with here. Those who attend case conferences held for specialists only are usually well trained in conference procedures.

HOW CAN WE FIND THE TIME?

The case conference is comparatively little used in high schools and colleges partly because the method is not well known and hence not always well understood and largely because it is usually difficult to provide enough time at the right time for effective use of case conference procedures. When the conference method is first used, ordinarily from one and a half to two hours are needed. As the staff members become familiar with the procedures, less time is needed; but the time required will seldom be much less than an hour and a half if interest and cooperation are as strong as desired.

In general, trained personnel workers who have had very much experience with the conference method consider it one of the most effective means for strengthening a guidance program. If properly and regularly used, it almost invariably results in increased understanding of individual students and appreciation of students as individuals, in increased skill on the part of many workers, in increased awareness of the importance of certain services and of the need for others, and in better organized efforts to secure expansion of the guidance program through an increase in personnel and an improvement in working conditions. Some guidance directors who fully appreciate the value of the conference method abandon it, however, because they find it almost impossible to schedule case conferences at a time when those who should attend can do so without too much inconvenience.

This problem of finding enough time for the conference and of scheduling it at a suitable time is solved in different ways. The most common solution seems to be the one of holding case conferences after school. If the teachers are not asked to remain after school many afternoons during the course of a month and if all the teachers concerned with the case are free to attend, that is, if none has to be elsewhere to coach a team, to help some other extracurricular activity group, or to do something else in the way of an extra assignment, this plan may work. Serving tea, as Fenton suggests, helps to refresh the teachers and to make working two hours less difficult. If, however, the school day is frequently extended for after-school work, serving tea may refresh the teachers but may not lessen their resentment or make them feel interested and cooperative.

Some administrators and teachers dismiss this whole problem regarding time for special professional activities by stating firmly that attending meetings, participating in case conferences, helping with extracurricular activities, reading professional literature, and doing other such things are as much a part of a teacher's work as making lesson plans, teaching classes, and grading papers. This statement is true. It is also true, however, that, to be good teachers, teachers must not be drab, uninteresting people. To be alert and interesting people as well as teachers interested in their work, they must have time to satisfy their normal needs for recreation, diversion, and rest.

When this problem of how to find time for professional meetings is put in the hands of the faculty, some faculties, like some administrators, can find no better solution than to schedule the meetings after school. But, because the plan is theirs and not one forced upon them, they may find it easier to accept than a similar plan imposed from above. One faculty group made the plan more acceptable than it had been previously by making it more definite. Operating as a committee of the whole, the teachers decided that one afternoon a week should regularly be reserved for professional activities and that other after-school activities that might interfere with any member's taking part in the professional program were not to be scheduled for that day. The group also developed a plan for equalizing committee work because the members felt that a few were being asked to do too much and that the group resources were not being sufficiently well used.

The general plan agreed upon called for a meeting of the whole faculty one week, department meetings another week, committee meetings another week, and case conferences the fourth week. Desirably case conferences should be regularly held at least twice a month; but obviously once a month is better than never. Since the members of this faculty agreed that they would regularly devote two hours a week to professional meetings, all expected to participate in one of the two or three case conferences held on "conference day." At times some teachers were directly concerned with more than one case being considered on a particular day even though a special effort was made to select for study on the same day students at different grade levels and in different curricula. The teachers were free to decide which conferences they would attend, but homeroom teachers were expected to attend all conferences on members of their homeroom groups. Conferences on two members of the same homeroom were never held on the same day.

The add-it-on method is commonly used by high school people in making needed changes. When, for example, it becomes clear that something new should be taught, the something new is added to the regular program as a new course or added to an old course as a new unit. Rarely

is the old program or the old course overhauled and something no longer needed taken out and replaced by the something new. In like manner, when it seems desirable to make committee meetings and case conferences a regular part of the teachers' programs, they are usually tacked on before or after school. Rarely, if ever, does anyone consider sending the students home so that the teachers can do work that cannot well be done when students are at school.

Many people seem to think that, unless students are at school, teachers are not working; but they seldom think in this fashion about other workers. Bank employees, they know, work many hours a week when the bank is not open to customers. Also, they know that the fact that a doctor's office is regularly closed on Monday does not mean that the doctor regularly goes fishing on Monday. Why should not the school close at noon or open at noon twice a month or more often so that during one half of the school day the faculty may engage in professional activities that are not easily undertaken when the students are at school?

Faculty meetings, committee meetings, case conferences, and the like are an important part of the professional work of any teacher. Such activities should be regularly scheduled and not planned haphazardly. They will prove most fruitful when scheduled on school time and at a time when all or most staff members are free to attend.

INITIATING THE CASE CONFERENCE

Before the conference is used for study of any case, its purposes, principles, and procedures should be considered by the staff under the leadership of the member best qualified to serve as conference chairman or leader. The effectiveness of the case conferences will be determined in part by the quality of this preliminary preparatory work.

Ethical Standards Stressed. In the preliminary work special attention should be given to matters of professional ethics. The importance of keeping all conference proceedings and case material confidential, of reporting accurately and interpreting objectively, of being open-minded and ready to give thoughtful consideration to all recommendations even though all are not in keeping with one's own views, of keeping the discussion all at the professional level and above the level of gossip and hearsay, and of keeping emotions under control—the importance of all these things cannot be stressed too much.

Whatever is said, however, regarding professional behavior should be said in a way which makes it clear that every member is considered a responsible and reliable person; that violations of the rules of ethical conduct are not anticipated; that, in reminding the group members of the importance of observing the rules closely, the chairman is only exercising the

a routine precaution; and that he will repeat the reminder from time to time. Furthermore, he must take care to do so; for, as Fenton[2] states, until the guidance conference becomes a part of the school routine and is accepted as commonplace by the faculty and whenever visitors or new staff members are present, the chairman should at the beginning and at the close of a conference remind those present of the confidential nature of all material presented at the meeting.

Use of Demonstrations. Demonstrations help a faculty to prepare for conference participation. The specialists with the help of some nonspecialists might demonstrate the conference method by using either a real case or a hypothetical one. A real case will probably arouse more interest than a hypothetical case but may not be so useful for helping the group members learn to discuss a case objectively.

When the case is a real one, some teacher who has the student in class may be unable to accept, because he does not understand, some interpretations and recommendations offered by the specialists. He may feel that he knows the student better than they do, both out of school as well as in it; he may feel confident that the only reason "this boy acts that way" is that "he simply does not care and, like his father, just does not have any ambition." When the case is a hypothetical one, this teacher may not find it difficult to follow the specialist's line of thought and may agree with him in the main. After several hypothetical or disguised cases have been presented and discussed by the group, the teacher may acquire sufficient general understanding regarding multiple causes, behavior symptoms, and the like to be able to apply the principles to the "unambitious boy" and to other students whose problems he tended to dismiss in the past with such loose generalizations as "lazy," "low IQ," "poor attitude," "inattention," "low-class bone," etc.

Sometimes the demonstrations for orientation purposes are given in a school by staff members from some clinic or by specialists from some nearby university. Such demonstrations are helpful for some faculty members but may do others more harm than good. If the demonstration case is a complicated one and/or all demonstration participants are experts, some faculty members may want to start at the level of the experts and attempt to adopt the techniques and the terminology of the experts before they are ready to do so. Confusion and loss of interest may result in much the same way as occurs when a faculty group adopts cumulative records that are beyond their readiness and require a higher degree of competency than most members possess. Also, some staff members, after observing a demonstration by experts, may feel somewhat as a fifth grader might if his art teacher placed an excellent drawing before his group and asked them to try to copy it. Knowing that his production would be far below

² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

the level of the artist's product, the fifth grader might feel that there was no use in trying to reproduce it.

The demonstration case should not be a very difficult one. Specialists and nonspecialists should take part in the demonstration, and preferably the specialists should be members of the staff or in the school service. If outside experts are used, they should be persons who understand the school situation and, if possible, persons who have worked with the staff before. Also, the demonstrations should be sufficiently brief to be followed by a general discussion of the case and of the conference procedures.

Use of Case-study Instruments. Before attempting to use the conference method for study of particular students, some faculty groups first study or review, either as a total group or in small study groups, certain principles and techniques so that they may learn to interpret test data, cumulative record material, and the like and to gain skill in recognizing pertinent items and significant patterns among them. Other faculty groups find such study more interesting and meaningful when case-study instruments are used which include exercises designed to help the user to appraise his understanding of human development and adjustment and to evaluate his skill in diagnosis and prognosis. A number of such instruments have been prepared and can be obtained commercially.[2] Members of a faculty study group can use very profitably instruments such as those by Baller[3] and by Horrocks and Troyer.[4]

Rothney's *The High School Student* consists almost entirely of case studies of students of many levels of ability and achievement. Problems are presented but not the solutions, which makes the book especially useful when group discussion is the study method. Practical material is found in some textbooks on guidance. The appendix of a book by Rothney and Roens[5] includes four case exercises in applying data, evaluating counseling procedures, appraising the need for referral, and doing other such things. Williamson's *Counseling Adolescents* contains case material that is good for group study purposes even though it is intended as illustrative material rather than practice material.

Group study of case study material can do much to help increase

[2] Several such instruments are reproduced in full in C. E. Erickson, editor, *A Basic Test for Guidance Workers*, Chap. 4. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947.
[3] W. R. Baller, *The Case of Mickey Murphy*. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1943.
[4] John Horrocks and M. E. Troyer, *Syracuse University Test Series in Evaluating Knowledge and Understanding of Human Growth and Development*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1949.
[5] John W. M. Rothney, *The High School Student: A Book of Cases*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1953.
John W. M. Rothney and Bert A. Roens, *Counseling the Individual Student*, pp. 339–555. New York: The Dryden Press, 1949.
E. G. Williamson, *Counseling Adolescents*, pp. 255–530. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950.

teachers' understanding of growth and development and to help some teachers abandon the practice of explaining student behavior through such stereotypes as "unhappy home life," "too much concerned with extracurricular activities," "is just plain lazy," "has not learned how to study," "should be taking shop courses," "doesn't have the mental ability for the work," "is preoccupied with sex interests," and so forth. When such explanations are uncritically offered during the study of an actual case in the school and the user of stereotyped explanations is asked the basis for his diagnosis, he can usually "remember" enough evidence on the spot. If, however, he offers his explanation during the study of a not-real case and the only evidence had is that contained in the printed or mimeographed material, the teacher may find it very difficult to justify his interpretation. When asked the basis for his statement, he may find nothing in the case study material to support it; and others may call his attention to enough contradictory evidence for him to realize that his judgment was not based on reflective thinking.

GENERAL PROCEDURES IN THE CASE CONFERENCE

The Subject. Students should be selected for study through the case conference method in much the same way that they are selected as subjects for anecdotal reports and case studies. Because the number of students studied through the conference method is necessarily small, only problem cases are considered in some schools. While it is highly desirable to use the most effective procedures with the cases requiring the greatest skill, it would be unfortunate never to hold case conferences for study of average, superior, and other "nonproblem" students. To limit use of any technique to study of only problem students strengthens certain false ideas regarding student personnel work that are already held by too many people, such as the idea that guidance is mainly work with problem students. To help develop a conception of guidance as work concerned with all students, care must be taken to include all students or all types of students in all parts of the program, especially when inservice education is a principal objective.

Moreover, if only maladjusted or problem students are considered at case conferences, being a "conference case" may stigmatize a student in some teachers' thinking. Also, should parents and students ever come to know that students are studied through the conference method and the type of students studied, then being a conference subject may be looked upon as a mark of disgrace. The use of case conferences should then be abandoned, for they may result in more harm than good for the students whom they are designed to help.

The Participants and the Leader. The participants in a case conference should include all staff members working with the student, available specialists able to help with the case, and other interested faculty members. In order that discussion may be informal and easy, the group should be small, preferably 20 members or fewer. Attendance should not be compulsory.[a]

The spirit in which a participant attends a conference is more important than his presence there. If anyone is there under duress and not because he is sincerely interested in studying the case, perhaps it is better for him and for the student that he be elsewhere. Some harm may result from his being there. Not in sympathy with the conference idea, such workers may leave a conference feeling strongly opposed to all such "guidance nonsense"; and they may include the student as well as the program in their opposition. While they may never intentionally use in an unprofessional way the information obtained at the conference, they may project onto the hapless student the resentment felt toward the persons who, they believe, more or less forced them to attend the conference against their will.

Furthermore, if the conference is to provide a learning situation, the participants must be able to express their points of view freely and fully and must not feel obligated to adopt the viewpoint of another. A teacher's point of view may not be correct; but the change desired should result from growth through education rather than from fear or, because of insecurity, from a desire "to please the authorities." Conflicts of personalities and clashes in points of views are not likely to be serious when the participants find the conference atmosphere permissive and the attitude of the leader understanding and accepting. As Fenton[20] states:

It is inconsistent with the purposes of the conference, for example, for anyone possessing legal or administrative powers, such as the superintendent or the health or attendance officer, to browbeat the others into accepting his recommendations or to insist stubbornly upon his point of view. The conference or group exists primarily for the child's welfare. If one member must coerce or dominate the others to carry a point which he believes will help a child, the technique has failed of its purpose.

Ideally the conference leader or chairman should be a competent professionally trained counselor or psychologist; but, if the staff does not

[20] Fenton, *op. cit.*, p. 81. Reprinted with the permission of the author and the publishers, Stanford University Press.

include such a specialist, use of the conference can still be successfully attempted. The members with some training in student personnel work can help those who are without training but are interested in trying to understand and to help students as individuals. Together they can adopt the case conference in its least technical form and use it effectively for the purposes intended. By working together in the conference situation, most members will learn to deal more intelligently with students, become more sensitive to the students' needs, and more aware of their powers and fitness, as well as of their limitations, for helping to meet these needs. Some will be stimulated to undertake independent study and experimental use of other techniques, such as anecdotal reports and cumulative records.

The Special Report. There is no standard form for administration of the case conference. The procedures sketched here are, in general, the ones reported as most helpful by some practitioners in the field of student personnel work. All who were consulted agreed regarding the importance of a full report on the case carefully prepared in advance of the conference. Not all agreed regarding the desirability of supplying all conference participants with copies of the report, or an abstract of the report, before the conference.

Some workers believe that, if all participants receive copies of the report in advance, many will come to the conference with set ideas about the case. Others, however, think that the influence of any preconceived ideas will be minimized by the presentation of other ideas at the conference and believe that, if the participants have the basic data beforehand, they will give the case thoughtful attention and seek additional information. The second point of view is based on respect for the ability and integrity of coworkers, and so it seems more desirable than one based on reluctance to permit fellow-teachers full participation. If the conference participants are to have a report before the conference, they should receive it a week, or at least several days, in advance. The report should open with a statement reminding the receiver that the report is confidential and cautioning him against letting any part of it be read by anyone else.

summarized. Because of the amount of work involved in preparing this type of report and the cost of mimeographing copies for all conference participants, such reports are often given orally or projected onto a screen. Use of mimeographed copies distributed at the beginning of the conference is preferred, however; for it facilitates discussions. It is difficult to remember specific items on different students when the report is given orally or projected onto a screen. If the members have copies, they can easily refer to the material on different students and note the common and distinguishing factors in their cases. Better conference discussion and more appropriate recommendations are likely to result.

Synthesis and Diagnosis through Conference Discussion. To the material contained in the special report, prepared before the conference, other data are added in an orderly manner at the conference. First the person who collected the data for the special report summarizes all pertinent information obtained after the report was prepared. Then the other members report additional items that they consider relevant. When the report seems complete, the conference members discuss it, trying to determine the significant facts and to decide what needs to be done to aid the adjustment and development of the student concerned. As the discussion proceeds, some members see the importance of certain items and add information previously not reported because thought unimportant. Also, some things held very important at the beginning of the conference, when viewed in the light of the total report, begin to appear trivial. Some interpretations and recommendations that were carefully thought out before the conference may not be offered because they no longer seem appropriate.

As the members gain through their group discussion a more comprehensive and more accurate picture of the student, they begin to see what they may need to do individually to help provide the student some of the experiences needed. At times special action is not necessary on the part of anyone. Instead, all need to help the student to utilize his personal and environmental resources. At other times special help is needed, in addition to general assistance; and recommendations should be made regarding special action and the particular staff members to be made responsible for carrying out the special recommendations. All recommendations should, of course, be put into effect as soon as possible, including the one for general assistance by all staff members.

If the services of a secretary are not available, some group member should make a record of conference findings and recommendations to be included in the student's cumulative record folder or booklet. Periodically special conferences or meetings should be held at which follow-up reports on various cases are heard and the effectiveness of the recommendations previously made on these cases are appraised.

Students and Parents Usually Not Participants. After the conference method has been used sufficiently often for its use to become easy and effective, it may be suggested to a student with some special problem, the solution to which involves adjustment on the part of the school as well as on the part of the student, that he discuss his problem in conference with his teachers and some others, such as the administrator and certain specialists, so that the group may consider possible plans with him. This, of course, is the ideal situation—one in which the student, teachers, specialists, and the parents too, perhaps, pool their efforts and resources in order that each may help dissolve the difficulty.

Usually, however, a student troubled by some special problem is so self-conscious and even so frightened during the conference, despite all efforts to make him feel otherwise, that he is not able to participate constructively in the discussion. It is ordinarily better for him to discuss his problem in an interview alone with his counselor than with a group at the conference. At the case conference the counselor can present the student's problem as it is seen by the student, and afterward during his interviews with the student he can try to make good use of the conference findings and to carry out the recommendations agreed upon at the conference.

As the result of a case conference, an interview may be arranged with a student's parents in order to obtain the cooperation needed from the home. Usually parents are not invited to participate at a case conference; for, as Fenton[11] points out, their presence in most cases inevitably limits the frankness and objectivity of the discussion. The guidance conference is part of the professional routine of the school, and parents do not expect to participate. On the rare occasion when it does seem desirable to have one or both parents attend the case conference, they should be present only part of the time. Some things are not easily discussed or should not be discussed in the presence of parents.

SOME POSSIBLE OUTCOMES

The most important of the possible outcomes of a case conference is increase in the participants' interest, understanding, appreciation, and desire to play a more helpful role in the lives of students. Most participants will leave a case conference with increased understanding and appreciation of the student studied, with greater awareness of the ways in which classroom conditions and instructional methods contribute to good and bad adjustment, and with a desire to make better use of the facilities within their control for aiding development and for preventing or decreasing maladjustment in all students, not in just the one studied at the conference.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 78.

Some participants may leave the conference really aware for the first time of the fact that they must have comprehensive and accurate information about students if they are ever to know them as "whole students" or "total personalities." They perceive the bearing of certain factors in home and neighborhood environments upon a student's progress in school and see the importance of being informed about a student's out-of-school life. Some participants acquire new conceptions regarding their roles as teachers. Programs and procedures previously considered sound and good for all students may be seen as inadequate and possibly bad for some. If the conference case is a "discipline case," some participants may be less anxious at the close of the conference than at the beginning to have a student forced to conform. Their attention may have shifted from misbehavior and a need for punishment to maladjustment and a need for help, the central point in their thinking no longer being a disturbing student but the disturbing factors in a student's life.

Some participants gain professional knowledge and skill through conference participation. By sharing in the group thinking that leads to the group's conclusions and recommendations, some members are able to decrease the number and the seriousness of errors in the interpretations and diagnoses that they make thereafter either when working alone or with the group. Group discussions help them to develop objective attitudes and to give up certain misconceptions regarding normal and abnormal behavior, the comparative significance of different educational objectives, and the relative importance of the various parts of the total program. The discussions help them to become more tolerant of different points of view and more critical of their own. As they become acquainted with the observations and judgments of other members, they find that some others are more competent than they in certain areas. They learn to draw upon the professional knowledge of the others and thereby increase and strengthen their own. Trained as well as untrained workers benefit in this way from conference participation. In an investigation reported by Murray,[12] for example, the conference method proved exceedingly useful for such reasons. There the method was used in its most technical form. The conference participants were highly trained specialists who never completely succeeded in merging their separate ideologies—a thing hardly to be expected—but they found the chief advantage of the conference to be that "it minimizes the errors which arise from the experimenter's personal viewpoint."

Through their conference experiences some participants gain self-knowledge and insight regarding their own behavior and problems. They perceive that in their own adjustments to life they have contended with

[12] H. A. Murray et al., Explorations in Personality, p. 706. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

problems not unlike those of the students studied and find that the discussions of the students' problems help to dispel some of their own anxieties and fears. Actually a teacher may be indirectly discussing his own conflicts when talking about those of a student. At times the leader will recognize the roundabout approach to personal problems and will assist, not discourage, the teacher to use the conference in this way. Moreover, if the teacher reveals some of the reasons for his own feelings of inferiority and insecurity, it may be possible to help allay such feelings. Since the teacher's own personality enters into his handling of the students' problems, anything done to help the teacher may also help the students. Eventually the teacher may be able to separate his personal problems from those of the classroom and of the students.

Case conferences frequently disclose the need in the school for the services of the nurse, the speech clinician, the reading clinician, and the specialist in counseling. Awareness of the need and increased appreciation of the value of the services of the specialists may lead to efforts to secure regular provision for them. Germane and Germane,[13] for example, reported how use of the case conference (called the "clinic") helped certain faculty groups to become informed regarding the scope and implications of student personnel work and the need for student personnel services.

Case conferences may help to improve coordination of school and community resources. Counselors and teachers may begin to seek outside the school the special assistance needed by some students but not available within the school. They may succeed in interesting some citizen or group in providing the help needed. A service group, for example, may agree to send to college some brilliant student who should continue his education but whose family cannot afford to give him a college education. Sometimes the faculty find that the help needed is available upon request or upon the fulfillment of certain conditions easily met by the student, but neither the faculty nor the student before knew that it could be had for the asking. By studying students more carefully and by working more closely with other community workers, the faculty learn how to utilize community resources for providing some services not given by the school.

SOME CAUTIONS

The good that results from the use of the conference method may not be so great or result so soon as some faculty members expect. Very little change may be noted in a student for a long time after the conference

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[13] C. E. Germane and E. G. Germane, *Personnel Work in High School.* New York: Silver Burdett Company, 1941.

is held on his case even though all who were present at the conference are trying very hard to carry out the recommendations made on the case. Rarely will change occur quickly or soon; so teachers must be patient and not expect rapid or early improvement. While the progress reported may not be great, ordinarily some progress can be expected; for, in the words of Fenton,[14] "investigations have indicated that, although seemingly miraculous improvement occurs rarely, complete failure is fortunately as infrequent."

Not all the progress reported may be real, especially with respect to academic progress. Some faculty members leave the conference room determined to help "the poor student" in every way that they can. Helping him may be seen as passing him or raising his mark rather than as trying to modify instructions and environment so that the student may be able to achieve in keeping with his ability to do so. Actually the student may not be learning or adjusting any better than before; but, because he is receiving higher marks, progress is indicated. Then too, of course, the student may be more confused than helped by the false evidence of progress. (This illustration is not to be construed as a defense of low and failing marks. Little defense can be offered for any marks—passing or failing, high or low—as given in the average high school or college today.)

Progress or improvement should be appraised in terms of the individual rather than in terms of some arbitrary standard. If, for instance, a student has been "acting in a childish manner" by losing his temper whenever thwarted and in other ways showing little self-control, progress should be reported when his temper outbursts become less violent and less frequent. The boy is learning to endure frustration, so he is progressing.

Improvement may not be consistently maintained. A student, for example, who has been negligent about completing his work and doing it on time may change and for a while show definite improvement with regard to punctuality and the quantity and quality of his work. Then he may slip back into his old ways. The relapse should not, however, be considered permanent. If the teachers will be patient, the periods of backsliding may decrease in frequency and in duration.

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The Interview: General Purposes and Principles

In this chapter and the next one attention is given to the use of the interview for guidance purposes only. The emphasis is upon use of the interview for helping students to make good adjustments in all areas of their lives.

The interview is useful not only for helping a worker to become acquainted with a student and to obtain valuable information from him but also for helping a student to become acquainted with himself by giving him an opportunity to explore matters of personal importance by talking them over with an interested adult. Through these conversations or interviews the student comes to see himself more clearly because he comes to understand better than before how he feels and what he thinks about certain matters of special significance to him.

Anyone who has worked very much with young people well knows that most students wish at times to consult some adult whom they respect and trust but who is not involved in their affairs as are their parents and close friends. Many students who receive good emotional support from their parents prefer to discuss some matters with their counselors because they have a more objective relationship with them than with their parents. The fact that the relationship will not continue indefinitely as well as the fact that the counselor is not affected as are their parents by the consequences of their choices and actions makes it easier for the students to discuss some matters with counselors than with parents or other relatives. The student-counselor relationship is never the highly personal relationship that ordinarily exists between parent and child; and so the student knows that the reactions of the counselor may be different from those of his parent.

The professional training of the counselor should be sufficiently broad to enable him to help students with problems of personal adjustment as well as with those of educational, vocational, and social adjustment. Those who think of students as whole persons and who stress the unity of personality do not think it desirable or even practical for student personnel workers to limit their counseling functions to helping students with

educational, vocational, and social problems and not to try to help them also with their problems of personal adjustment.

The term "personality counseling" is no longer limited to psychiatric treatment but is generally considered as being, in the words of Thorne,[1] the relatively superficial treatment of mild personality problems in normal people and "limited to the attempt to improve adaptive behavior in specific areas without altering basic personality structure." Furthermore, many persons believe with Rogers[2] that the procedures used in counseling with regard to personal problems do not really differ from the procedures used in counseling with regard to the "so-called educational and vocational difficulties" because educational and vocational problems are also personal problems. Problems are interrelated; they do not exist separately.

BASIC PURPOSES

If the interview is to be used effectively for the general purposes of diagnosis, education, and therapy, it must first be put to good use for establishing rapport—the warm, cooperative interpersonal relationship between student and worker resulting from the establishment of confidence, trust, and friendship and the creation of a positive emotional response on the part of the student toward the worker. The use of the interview for establishing good working relations and for winning cooperation is often referred to as an "auxiliary" use of the interview. In student personnel work, however, it is or should be a principal use. The larger the school, the more important this use becomes for counteracting the forces that help to depersonalize and to oversystematize school life and to render the individual student anonymous.

When the basic purpose of the interview is to establish rapport, the first interview will be held very soon after the student enters the school, if it cannot be scheduled before his entrance. If the first interview is delayed until the student runs into difficulty—fails some subject, breaks a rule, has trouble with other students, or the like—the counselor may not find it easy or possible to establish good relations with the student or his parents. Both student and parents, under such conditions, may not be easily convinced that the counselor understands either the student or his problem or that he really wants to help the student.

When through interviews and other procedures, such as those of group guidance, the counselor has established rapport with the student and the student rapport with the counselor (it is a two-way process), the interview may be used effectively for serving the purposes of diagnosis, edu-

[1] F. C. Thorne, *Principles of Personality Counseling*, p. 86. Brandon, Vt.: Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1950.
[2] Carl R. Rogers and J. L. Wallen, *Counseling with Returned Servicemen*, p. 90. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949.

cation, and therapy or, as described by Bingham and Moore,[3] for carrying out the three main functions of securing information from the interviewee, instructing him, and influencing or motivating him. Seldom, if ever, does an interview serve one function or purpose exclusively. The diagnostic interview, for example, usually has some developmental and remedial values. Only for the purpose of discussion can the functions or purposes be separated.

SOME AIDS TO SUCCESS IN INTERVIEWING

Reputation among Students. When a counselor has been in a particular school or college for two or more years, his reputation among the students may determine to a large measure the ease and speed with which he is able to establish rapport with a new counselee. If in the particular school situation counselors are important people in student life and not just people who see their counselees (or advisees) briefly once or twice a year, a new student is very likely to be asked soon by an upperclass student, "Whom did you get for your counselor?" If the response to the new student's answer is "Oh, you will like him fine" or "Boy, you certainly got a break," the way to student-counselor cooperation has been cleared. If, however, the response is "He's nice and a lot of fun but not much help" or "Be careful what you tell him," the road to cooperation may be closed before student and counselor meet.

To prevent cooperation and communication with a student from being cut off or interfered with by other students, a school counselor needs to become known as one who is friendly, understanding, sincere, fair, consistent, *and competent.* It is not enough for him to be known as "a good guy"; he must also be known as someone who "knows his stuff." Students have little respect for a school counselor who gives them the same explanation for all difficulties and offers the same solution for all their problems. They feel the same way toward such a counselor as toward a school nurse who always gives them aspirin and does little else regardless of their reason for coming to her for help—headache, stomach-ache, cut finger, bruised knee, or some other ailment or injury. The counselor who is able to recognize multiple causes and who shows that he is versed in different areas of knowledge and able to help with different types of adjustment problems is the one whom students respect.

Personal Qualifications. The counselor's reputation among students and his success in interviewing are determined by his personal characteristics as well as by his professional knowledge and skill. The counselor's appearance in terms of dress and the like is important because, as

[3] Walter V. Bingham and Bruce V. Moore, *How to Interview,* 3d ed., p. 5. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.

Robinson[4] points out, it may be considered a symbol of maturity and ability. More important, however, is the level of maturity or adjustment actually reached by the counselor. He should be a well-adjusted person, one who has achieved balance in his life, has gained insight into his own problems and conflicts, is able to live with his problems, and does not need to discuss or to refer to them during his talks with students.

Lack of objectivity and lack of emotional maturity, for example, are serious obstacles to success in interviewing. If the interviewer is handicapped by such lacks, there will appear in his interview reports serious discrepancies and inaccuracies produced by bias and prejudice. If, for instance, a teacher-counselor dislikes greatly to see girls appear in public places dressed in jeans or slacks and loud plaid shirts, the diagnoses and prognoses offered in his reports may be consistently more favorable for girls always seen "properly attired" than for girls frequently seen in "sloppy attire." His strong prejudice against girls' dressing like boys may influence the contents of his reports fully as much as what he hears and observes during the interviews. More than that, his prejudice prevents his establishing good rapport with some students and reduces the value of his counseling.

Professional Knowledge and Skill. The student who is served by a counselor who possesses the desired personal qualifications profits, no doubt, from his contacts with such a person even though the counselor may lack the professional knowledge and skill of the trained counselor. The mature well-balanced adult can do much to help young people to deal effectively with many of the problems encountered in their day-to-day living, but he may not be able to help them with some important problems. Hence, to the strengths of personality would-be counselors need to add the strengths acquired through training and practice.

It is not possible to list all the areas in which counselors need to be informed in order to be able to serve all their counselees. Nor is it possible to say that any one area of knowledge and skill is more important than others and that, hence, all counselors need to be well trained in that area. The most important area will vary with individual students. One student, for example, may know exactly what he wants to do vocationally, may be well able to achieve his vocational goal, and may be strongly supported in his choice by parents who are able and willing to give him the financial backing as well as the emotional support that he may need for reaching his chosen goal. Consequently, this student may not wish to spend any part of his interview time with the counselor in discussing his vocational plans even though the counselor may be unusually well qualified to help him appraise his plans.

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[4] Francis P. Robinson, *Principles and Procedures in Student Counseling*, p. 43. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

If this student feels concern over other things, he wants the counselor to show interest in these things rather than interest in vocations. If the interview is student-centered, rather than counselor-centered or subject-centered, the counselor will follow the student's lead. This student does not want help in finding his vocation. He feels sure that he has found it and that it is the right one; he wants the counselor to assist him with some other problem—how, perhaps, to square the teachings of his church with the practices of his parents; how to make and keep friends (he seems able to make them but not to keep them); how to get his parents to accept his choice of a future mate as well as they understand and accept his choice of a vocation; how to help a much loved younger brother who is not so smart as he and his sisters are but who is expected by the parents to achieve as well as his brother and sisters—how to help the brother and at the same time not mar his relations with the parents—or how to do something else that he wants very much to do but does not know how to do and wishes to think about aloud with some adult whose judgment he respects.

The most pressing problem of another student may be one of vocational selection. This student may be unhappy because he is so confused regarding vocational choice that he no longer finds it easy to cope with other less important problems that do not ordinarily disturb him. His parents are urging him to come to some decision; certain teachers keep telling him that he ought to make up his mind soon so that he may plan his school program in keeping with his future vocational needs; all his friends seem to know exactly what they want to do, whereas he does not have the slightest idea what his lifework should be. Another student may know what she wants to do vocationally. Her parents do not oppose her choice but cannot give her the financial help needed. This girl wants her counselor to help her find out whether she can work out some plan for securing a college education or for getting the specialized training needed without going to college or, if neither plan is possible, how to modify her vocational goal so that she may satisfy certain strong interests but not need the highly specialized training called for by her present goal.

A teacher-counselor needs to be well informed regarding motivation and the dynamics of human behavior. If he is not, he may accept at face value a student's statement that he does not mind at all never being permitted by his parents to take part in student activities or another's explanation that the only reason for his always striving to be at the head of his class is his very strong thirst for knowledge. He may agree with a father that the man's son is no less than an ingrate for not wanting to attend the college of his father's choice and prepare for a position in his father's business. This boy receives from his father everything that money can supply—car, fine clothes, generous allowance, travel, and the like—and

the boy should be more appreciative and more responsive to his father's wishes than he seems to be, especially since the father can guarantee the boy vocational success and a good future—things very important during these uncertain times. The father is a very busy man; and the son, the counselor thinks, should realize that the father cannot spend too much time in arguing with him about his plans for the future.

This same teacher-counselor may see in a young girl's anxiety never to go against the wishes of her parents only evidence of a happy home life and an extraordinarily fine relationship between daughter and parents. He can be of little assistance to the girl and her parents in helping them to make the adjustment that all three may have to make before this girl can develop into a well-adjusted young woman. By praising the parents' too cautious watchfulness and by approving the daughter's unusual docility, he may help the parents to keep the girl a child and help the girl to slacken or even arrest her slow progress toward adulthood. The implication here is not that school counselors should be sufficiently well trained to be able both to recognize undesirable emotional patterns and to bring about correction through a reeducation of family members. Rather it is that they should be able to see below the surface so that they will not unwittingly contribute to the strengthening or continuance of undesirable patterns.

Understanding of Individual and Group Differences. Lack of knowledge in sociology and/or social psychology may cause an interviewer to fail to understand and to consider important variations among groups. Some survey reports indicate that most teachers are from middle-class homes. Hence, most teacher-counselors find it easy to understand and to accept middle-class ways and standards. While many may acknowledge that differences in background make for differences in student behavior, they do not always know as well as they should what the differences really are. They do not know the behavior patterns, the standards, the values, the expectations, and the demands imposed by other social classes upon their members; and so they do not always understand, accept, and appreciate these differences as well as they should. Thanks to Prescott and some other directors of child-study programs, most teachers and counselors know nowadays that behavior is caused; but not all know that they cannot always explain the cause in terms of their own way of life.

Too many workers expect all students and all parents to place the same value that they do upon certain standards of speech, dress, and behavior. Unthinkingly they tend to rate as less good, less important, or less worthy those who do not; or they tend to condemn all behavior that conflicts with their standards. They understand and accept better the students who accept their ways than those who do not. As a result, they often fail

to establish rapport with students from socioeconomic groups different from their own—higher or lower.

Failure to bear in mind that there are variations among members of a group is as much a barrier to success in interviewing and in counseling as is failure to bear in mind that there are variations among groups. Most teachers and counselors have learned to avoid in their thinking about others the stereotypes of race and religion. All of us know, for example, that not all Frenchmen are great lovers, not all Englishmen lack a sense of humor, not all Jews are money-loving, and not all Presbyterians are cold. We laugh at such ideas and say that they are absurd, but many of us fail to recognize that some other generalizations that we at times permit to govern our thinking and behavior are equally ludicrous and are also unfortunate.

At the end of the first day of school, for instance, a teacher-counselor may show her list of new advisees to another teacher and sadly call attention to the fact that she now has in her group Bill Jones, "another one of that Tom Jones's children who will be just like the others—completely impossible." It is the first day of school, and the counselor's contact with Bill was probably not five minutes long, but she has already typed Bill. In college this teacher-counselor studied courses in psychology; so she must have learned about individual differences. Yet she expects Bill to be just like his brothers and sisters, and she knows already that he is going to be completely impossible. Bill is not going to find it easy to establish rapport with his counselor, and at times this counselor may make it very difficult for him not to act according to type.

There are other generalizations that make it difficult for some students to establish good working relations with their teachers and counselors and that interfere with their relations with other students if other students take their cues from some teacher or counselor and reflect the attitudes of the adult in their behavior. The low IQ student, the high IQ student, the lazy boy, and the child from the broken home are a few examples. We have no right to assume that the boy or the girl from the broken home does not have satisfying emotional experiences; neither do we have a right to assume that the boy or the girl from the "good home" —the home not broken—does have such experiences. And by no manner of means can we assume that the low IQ students cannot satisfy to a reasonable degree some of their strong vocational interests or cannot make important contributions to their groups, whether class group or some other. Then there is the girl with the bleached hair, the too bright lips, the low-cut blouse, and the too short skirt—is she an individual or a type? Is she adopting this standard of dress because she wishes to affiliate with the members of a particular group? Is she trying to affiliate with the members of that group because she has not been able to affiliate

with the members of any other group? She must belong to some group or perish psychologically.

In short, to be able to use the interview for helping students with their many different problems, the counselor needs to have much specialized knowledge and many special skills along with intelligent understanding of different types of groups and people. He needs to have the training that enables him to help students to achieve individualism while acquiring skills in social participation, to help them to make satisfactory peer-group adjustment while preparing for adult life, to help them to develop a moral sense and to attain moral maturity, as well as to help them make good use of their educational opportunities and to find their places in the work world.

ATTITUDES OF THE INTERVIEWER

While many suggestions are given in the literature regarding specific techniques to be used in the interview for eliciting information, breaking down resistance, verifying statements, learning underlying motives, and doing other such things, the use of particular techniques is less important than the attitudes displayed by the interviewer and the philosophy behind the attitudes.

Bingham and Moore offer a good illustration for this point in their account of two social workers sent to interview employed mothers. One worker adopted the technique of letting the mothers whom she interviewed see her schedule of questions and the records that she made of their responses. The other worker took care not to let any mother whom she interviewed see her schedule of questions or her report on the interview. The first worker was more successful than the second in winning cooperation from the mothers; but the differences in results were not due to differences in the techniques adopted but, instead, to differences in the attitudes and feelings displayed by the workers toward the mothers interviewed. One worker tried to be subtle and circumspect; the other, direct and frank. As Bingham and Moore[3] say: "Many other differences of technique are equally unimportant, their effect on the interview being more apparent, than real. Indeed, what some interviewers have stated as necessary rules turn out to be only superficial directions. But to approach the interviewee with the right feeling is essential."

Frankness and Sincerity. Probably the most important attitude in guidance interviewing is the one illustrated in the example given above. The worker must be frank and sincere. The detective and the lawyer may need to be shrewd and may have to outguess the interviewee in order to achieve their purposes, but the student personnel worker will never

³ Bingham and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

adopt such interview tactics if his basic purpose is to win the student's confidence and trust and to establish the type of working relationship needed for helping the student to achieve good personal development.

Too often the teacher-counselor during an interview tries to outsmart a student by deliberately keeping him guessing. When this occurs, the student, instead of becoming cooperative, becomes defensive. Instead of moving toward the interviewer, he moves away from him or against him because he sees him as his opponent, not as a friendly counselor. The adoption of shrewd tactics is most likely to occur in an interview initiated by the counselor but not scheduled routinely for counseling purposes. When the student is sent for but not told why the counselor wishes to see him, the student naturally is curious, and unfortunately under the usual conditions of student-teacher relations, is usually anxious. Instead of explaining to the student at once why he wishes to see him, the teacher-counselor may talk first about the weather or ask the student how he enjoyed the concert the evening before or make some comment about a recent sports event won or lost by the school.

This interviewer may think that, in approaching the main topic in this roundabout way, he is warming up to the subject, is putting the student at ease, or is doing something else that a good interviewer should do to get the conference off to a good start. Actually he may be making the student feel ill at ease. Some of his "opening pleasant remarks" may make the student feel guilty and defensive. Perhaps the student did not attend the concert and thinks that the counselor, in asking him how he enjoyed it, is reprimanding him for not taking advantage of the cultural opportunities offered by the school. The student may also feel impatient and wish that he dare tell the counselor to come to the point and stop stalling. Or he may suspect that the counselor deliberately avoids stating his purpose because he wants to get the student to talk off guard.

In any interview initiated by the counselor the interviewer should, of course, open the conversation with a friendly greeting and some pleasant remark; but he should get to the point as soon as possible even when he has sent for the student to give him unpleasant news. He may have to tell the student, for example, that he should go home at once because of some unfortunate occurrence there; or he may have to tell the student that he will not be permitted to go with the band to the state meet because of his failure to cooperate when the group attended the county meet. If the interview is for the purpose of discussing with the student his reported misbehavior, it is still better for the counselor to be forthright—to say why he wants to talk with the student and then say, "Tell me about it." At first the student may falsify and rationalize. But, if in all his dealings with the counselor the student has found him sincere, consistent, and frank, he himself will be more direct and forthright than he

is likely to be if the counselor adopts the procedure of trying to trap him into a confession or to corner him through shrewd questioning.

If discipline is thought of as character education rather than as the giving of penalties, it is much better in the "discipline interview" to adopt than to avoid frank directness. If certain procedures of the counseling interview (described in the next chapter) are followed, both the student and the counselor may come to see why the student follows certain patterns of behavior; and the student may come to see that other patterns of behavior may be more useful for achieving his purposes. Moreover, if a penalty has been imposed, the counselor who is aboveboard with students is better able to help the student accept the penalty as a consequence of carelessness or wrongdoing and to profit from the experience than is the counselor who tries to be shrewd and wary. Even when the penalty seems harsh and unreasonable to the counselor as well as to the student, the frank sincere counselor is definitely in a better position than the crafty one for helping the student to adjust to the situation and not to be hurt too much by the experience.

In such a situation—one in which the student seems not to have been dealt with fairly—it is not wise for the counselor to side with the student, an error into which counselors who confuse guidance with sentimentality are apt to fall. The counselor may be angered by the imposition of a too harsh penalty, but he is not likely to help the student by revealing his anger before him. If the student presses him for his opinion regarding the fairness of the punishment, the counselor may sincerely express his regret that the penalty is a heavy one. He should then direct the conference toward trying to help the student to appraise the situation and to decide what he can do about it—appeal for a review of his case, accept the penalty "in the best spirit possible" and hope that it may be lightened later, to suffer and bear it, and so forth.

Courtesy and Respect. The attitude of the interviewer toward the interviewee should always be one of courtesy and respect. Courtesy and consideration require that communication be at the level of the student's emotional and intellectual development. The counselor should avoid the use of psychological terms and should not expect a student to display restraint and understanding beyond that ordinarily expected from one of the student's age and experience.

In all his interviews with students the counselor should try to help them to develop mature ways of thinking. Treating a student with courtesy and respect helps him to feel, think, and act like an adult. Kidding and talking down to him may make him feel and act like a child. Joking and pleasantries are not out of order, but they should be used in the same way with students as with adults. If, for example, the counselor knows that a colleague may resent certain kidding remarks because

he may find them too familiar or somewhat derogatory, he can expect students to resent them also or to be made uncomfortable by them. The counselor should consider the wishes and feelings of student interviewees as he would those of adult interviewees. In fact, he needs to be more considerate with students because they are likely to feel less secure and, therefore, more sensitive than adults.

When a counselor finds it necessary to call attention to the student's weaknesses, inadequacies, or failures, he should try to do it in a way that makes the student feel that the counselor is not unaware of his strengths and adequacies and that the counselor is trying to help him because he finds him worth helping, in spite of his defects and deficiencies. Friendly, courteous consideration and simple directness make it possible for a counselor to talk frankly with a student and help the student to appraise the situation honestly and see what he can do about it. Curt bluntness or shrewd evasiveness may make a student question a counselor's sincerity in offering help and may prevent him from seeing the true nature of the situation or, if he does see it, may cause him to deny it.

Control of Feelings. The interviewer shows respect by listening attentively, and he shows sympathy by indicating that he understands. By never appearing shocked or surprised, he helps the student to talk freely; by controlling his own emotions, he helps the student to express his. By not censuring and by not moralizing, the counselor helps the student to feel that he, the student, is acceptable even if his behavior is not. By listening in a nonjudgmental manner, he helps the student to judge his own acts correctly—helps him not to make them better or worse than they actually are and are not to overestimate or to underestimate the consequences for himself and/or others.

In trying to avoid moralizing and in trying to be properly objective and accepting, some teacher-counselors confuse not showing emotions with an absence of emotional response and confuse being conjudgmental with an absence of standards. Garrett's[e] statements on these two points are very helpful. With regard to emotional expression, she says the following:

When an interviewer first learns that he should be non-judgmental, should not become angry, should not become dependent upon the interviewee's affection and response, he tries to suppress his feelings, and as a result he tends to become artificial and stilted in his responses. It would be better to recognize the existence of such feelings and learn to control their expression, for these feelings are not unnatural but merely inappropriate in the professional situation. If an interviewer is aware that he is becoming angry, he is then in a

position to regulate his own feelings better than if he denies to himself that he has such feelings. Control of feelings rather than absence of feelings on the part of the worker is the goal.

The assumption that a counselor should not praise or blame, approve or disapprove does not mean that he is to refrain from classifying student behavior as acceptable or unacceptable in keeping with the circumstances. To do so may leave a badly confused young person even more confused. If, for example, during an interview a student tells the counselor that he has stolen money from his employer, the counselor accepts the report; he encourages the student to talk about the incident and to tell how he feels about it; and he tries to understand and to accept the student's feelings. If the student seems to think that he did nothing wrong, the counselor does not proceed to tell him how bad his behavior really is. Nor, if the student seems to berate himself too severely for his deed, does the counselor hasten to assure him that he is not so bad as he thinks himself to be or that his parents, in not permitting him to keep more of his earnings than they do, are as much at fault as he. While the counselor tries to help the student think through his problem and see himself and the situation in their true proportions, he never in any way indicates that he thinks stealing is all right or that it was the proper solution to the boy's problem. On this point Garrett[7] writes as follows:

Real acceptance is primarily acceptance of the feelings given expression by behavior and does not necessarily involve acceptance of unsocial behavior at all; real acceptance involves positive and active understanding of these feelings and not merely a negative and passive refusal to pass judgment.

A merely negative attitude of not passing judgment on a client's unusual behavior is often interpreted by him as a condoning of that behavior, a repudiation of a standard he himself accepts but has failed to live up to. He tends then either to reject the interviewer as an unfit guide or at the other extreme to continue and increase his undesirable behavior, thus trying out the interviewer to see how far he can go in his nonconformity.

CONDITIONS OF THE INTERVIEW

Setting. Much is said in the literature concerning the desirability of holding interviews in offices that are made attractive by comfortable chairs, flowers on desk or table, drapes at the windows, and the like. In colleges teacher-counselors usually have offices. Many, however, share offices with one or more other workers. In high schools some teacher-counselors have offices, but most do not. Some who do not have offices have the use of an office or cubicle for counseling purposes; but many,

and probably most, high-school workers must hold their interviews in classrooms.

While an attractive office is a desirable setting, it is not essential for good interviewing. The interviewer is more important than the place. A good interviewer can overcome inadequacies in the place through the attitude that he reveals toward the interviewee and his situation. If he is sincerely interested in helping the student and is ready to listen attentively and to try to understand the student, soon both he and the student have forgotten the place and are absorbed in more important matters—the student, his problem, his thoughts and feelings about the problem. If the interview is student-centered, it can be a good interview even though the chairs are hard, the desk is piled high with unfinished work, and the windows are dirty and uncurtained. The physical environment is far less important than the emotional atmosphere to the success of the interview. The atmosphere should be one of warmth, responsiveness, and understanding, of permissiveness and lack of pressure and coercion.

Privacy. Regardless of how hard pressed the interviewer may be, he should conduct the interview in an unhurried manner. As undesirable as it is to delay seeing an interviewee beyond the appointed time, it is better for the interviewer to delay until he is free to talk uninterrupted with the student or until certain pressing matters are attended to first. If he tries to take care of such matters while listening to the student, the student may feel that he should not be taking any of this busy worker's time; or he may feel that the counselor does not consider his affairs sufficiently important to give them his undivided attention. Consequently, he may soon depart without ever broaching the subject that made him seek the conference.

Privacy is not always necessary, but it is certainly most desirable. Homeroom teachers and Travelers Aid workers have had to conduct interviews in places where others are present and where there is much activity, and they have been able to interview successfully under such conditions even when the matters discussed were very personal and the interviewees very much disturbed. Undoubtedly, such interviews would, however, have been more satisfactory had interviewer and interviewee been able to talk alone. Good workers try to do good work whatever the conditions may be; but, in general, the better the conditions, the better both the worker and his work are likely to be.

Telephone interruptions and interruptions by persons who wish to say the "just one word" can cause both parties in the interview not to use the interview as well as they might were it held at a time and in a place where interruptions would not occur. That guidance is not equated with instruction in the thinking of some school people is clearly indicated by

their not being so reluctant to interrupt an interview as they are to interrupt a class. Some teachers, who would be very much annoyed if others walked into their classrooms to interrupt their teaching in order to ask for some bit of information or to make some other request, do not hesitate to open the closed door of a conference room to interrupt the interviewer for such reasons even though they can see through the glass door or partition that counselor and student are engaged in a conference.

Time. Sufficient time should be provided for the interview. Much of the counseling offered in high schools and colleges is of limited value because too little time is allowed for interviewing. Often the time allotted to this service averages no more than fifteen or twenty minutes a student each semester. The amount of time needed varies with the student and the matter to be considered during the interview. If, for example, the interview is held for the purpose of planning the program of studies for the next term, the time needed may vary from ten to sixty minutes. If the student is at the crossroads and cannot decide in which direction to turn, then an hour may be needed to help him define his problem, explore the alternatives, and come to a decision. On the other hand, if the student has reached a decision, the decision seems appropriate, and the counselor and the student have been working in close cooperation for some time, the time needed for filling in a form, verifying certain items, and checking the completed form may be less than ten minutes.

If, however, a teacher-counselor believes that he is the one who should decide what the student should study and has already filled in the form for the student to sign, then only enough time is needed for the student to sign the form, unless, of course, the student becomes resistant. Then, of course, more time is needed. The more active the student is in the planning, the longer the interview period needs to be. Since the student should be a very active participant, a time allotment of fifteen minutes a semester for each student is an exceedingly inadequate time provision for interviews.

The scheduling of interviews should not be left to chance; that is, interviews should not be scheduled only when a conference is requested by a student or when some special matter comes up. Every counselor should plan to see each of his counselees early in the school year and at regular intervals thereafter. At the close of an interview, the time should be set for the next one. Like adults, students may forget appointments that are made far in advance and, like adults, may regard a reminder as a friendly act of courtesy. A counselor, in scheduling interviews not held routinely and initiated by him, should make the appointment at a time convenient to the student as well as himself. Also, the student should be notified sufficiently far in advance. Too often a counselor decides that he wants to see a student during the student's "free period" on

a certain day, but he does not notify the student until the morning of the interview day or even shortly before the interview hour. If the student has planned to use his "free period" for some other purpose (and he probably has if he is a good manager), he may find his having to report to the counselor both inconvenient and frustrating. Under such circumstances the counselor may not find the student very communicative or cooperative.

The interview requested by the student should be scheduled as soon as possible and, if possible, at the time suggested by the student. To make it possible for counselors to meet promptly students' requests for assistance is a principal reason why counselors should never be overloaded. The counselor with the too heavy case load may not be able to see the student who wants to talk with him until it is too late for him to be of help, or he may have to delay seeing the student so long that the student no longer is able or willing to talk with him even though he may still be in need of help and help may still be possible.

Some writers include in their discussions of the interview procedures suggestions for preventing a student's wasting time. They say, for example, that certain types of questions are useful for pulling a student back to the subject. But the point on which the counselor may try to focus the discussion may not be the one of real concern to the student. It may be the one that he first states as his reason for seeking the conference, but it may not be the matter with which he really needs help. Experienced counselors know that the individual troubled by a matter that he finds embarrassing or difficult to talk about for some other reason is not likely to bring this matter up for discussion until he is reasonably sure that the counselor will understand and can be trusted to keep the conversation confidential. Hence, he may first talk, perhaps, about some respectable problem, such as choosing his lifework, selecting an elective, or joining a club. When he feels that it is safe for him to tell the counselor what is really troubling him, he begins to feel his way toward the real subject. If the counselor tries to direct his attention back to the first subject, the student may never get to the point.

It is often necessary for an interviewer to let a student ramble on merely at first but at various points throughout the interview. Any questions asked by the counselor should be directed toward helping the student say what he wants to say. They should be such questions as "You think, perhaps . . . ?" and "Do you mean that you feel . . . ?" rather than "Now to get back to the subject. Did you say that you have always liked mathematics?" or "Why do you think chemistry would be better than physics?"

When counselors try to see their counselees as frequently as the counselees wish, some students seem to want an inordinate amount of time.

Lonely or unhappy students who are unable to adjust to a problem situation often seek from some friendly adult the sympathy and companionship wanted and needed. Sometimes merely talking about the situation to an attentive listener will help the student to move toward a solution to his problem. A counselor may need to give some students much time in order to give them the help needed if only through listening. If he finds a case beyond his skill, he arranges referral to someone who is able to give the assistance needed.

SOME PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The information obtained during interviews is confidential professional information and should be treated accordingly. At times the information may be shared with others but only with others who can be trusted to respect the confidential and professional nature of such material. In a case conference, for example, the counselor concerned will report data obtained through interviews; but all persons attending the conference should be so well trained in conference procedures that none will make the material a subject of conversation outside the conference room or reveal any portion of it to others. Also, a counselor may want to discuss interview material with some specialist, such as the school psychologist, doctor, or nurse, whose assistance or opinion he may want. Whenever possible and desirable (at times it does not seem desirable), the counselor should tell the student of his plan to consult others.

Students are sometimes thrown into a state of conflict by their having to choose between two courses of action, both of which seem wrong. Counselors experience similar conflicts. A student, for example, gives his counselor in strictest confidence information that the counselor may feel he should not keep secret. To violate the student's confidence and report the information may cause the counselee and other students to believe that the staff member is unworthy as a counselor and is one who should never be trusted; not to report the information, however, may cause harm to the student or to others. Each such problem must be solved by the counselor concerned in the way that he thinks best. Some counselors try to avoid facing such a dilemma by making it a rule "never to violate a student's confidence under any circumstances." Such a rule does not help the counselor to avoid the dilemma; it only changes the appearance of one of the horns. Instead of having to choose between violating the student's confidence and not reporting information that should be made known to others, the counselor has to choose between breaking his rule and not reporting information that should be made known to others.

Thorne* is one of the few authorities who give special attention to such matters of professional responsibility. While his discussion is focused

primarily on problems of professional responsibility encountered in clinical work, it is also applicable to school counseling. Thorne states that uncritical acceptance of the assumption that the counselor's "prime responsibility is always to the client" has resulted in failure to give adequate consideration to the complexity of professional problems and sufficient emphasis to "other types of professional responsibility to society, to administrative bodies, to the profession itself, to friends and relatives of the client, and finally, the clinician's responsibility to himself and his family." Thorne's views regarding these other types of responsibility are, in the main, indicated in the following quotations and summaries.

Responsibility toward Society. The counselor sometimes encounters basic conflicts between the interests of society and those of the individual being counseled and has to use his best judgment in taking such action as will properly protect both society and the individual. "The counselor would not want to impulsively take ill-considered action which might deprive a person of life or liberty"; but, on the other hand, he would not wish to turn loose on society a vicious criminal. "Certainly in the case of major felonies, the counselor might almost be considered an accessory to the crime if he fails to report to the appropriate authorities, particularly if murder or other gross crime results from failure to take preventative action."[8]

Administrative Responsibility. "Counselors . . . have some responsibility to protect the interests of their employers." They must consider what is expected of them if they expect to keep their positions. Thorne uses several illustrations to show that the counselor "has definite responsibility to protect all concerned even to the extent of taking action which may disturb the client" notwithstanding the fact that his prime function in the case is to attempt to resolve the personality problems of the client.[10]

Responsibility to Family or Friends. "Where a client begins to behave in an impulsive, irresponsible manner with potentially dangerous consequences, the counselor appears to have a professional responsibility to inform some responsible relative or third party so that steps may be taken to protect the client from his own actions." Many high-school and college counselors are faced with problems similar to the one described in Thorne's illustration. The example is that of Anna, a nineteen-year-old girl, who told her counselor of certain irresponsible and dangerous activities in which she was taking part without the knowledge of her family. Thorne[11] points out that

. . . the family had a legitimate interest in protecting both Anna and the family from the consequences toward which her behavior appeared to be irresistibly drifting. In the event that Anna had become illegitimately pregnant

* Ibid., p. 64.
10 Ibid., pp. 64–65.
11 Ibid., p. 67.

or the victim of a sexual attack blame might rightfully have been placed on the counselor who knew of the situation but failed to take preventative action.

Responsibility to the Profession. Here Thorne discusses problems that are not unlike those that some school workers must deal with. He considers first the problem that arises when a client tries to secure from one professional worker his opinion about the behavior or services of another. A similar problem arises when a student tries to get a teacher or a counselor to express his judgment of the qualifications or actions of another teacher or counselor. School workers would do well to heed Thorne's instructions to clinical workers: "One professional man should never comment concerning the actions of another, since it is impossible to know the full details or reasons why a certain action was taken." Second, there is the reverse situation in which the counselor learns from the client (or the student) about the "presumably unethical activities" on the part of another professional worker. "Here it may be necessary to take directive action to preserve the reputations of all concerned."[12] Thorne does not find it necessary to add that such action should be taken in a professional manner.

Responsibility of the Counselor to Himself. Thorne[13] states that the counselor has an obligation to protect himself "from the irresponsible or malicious actions of persons who might be in a position to harm his professional reputation." Counselors who handle serious types of cases will probably sooner or later find themselves in situations which threaten to compromise their reputations. In such situations it is advisable for the counselor

> . . . to seek immediate consultation with colleagues or administrative superiors in order to explain the situation in detail and to secure the protection of the professional group. . . . The position of the clinician is immensely strengthened if he assumes responsibility for making an intraprofessional report concerning the alleged malpractice before such situations become generally publicized. In his endeavor to be maximally nondirective, the counselor must not forget that he too has rights which must be protected.

Other writers have also pointed out that counselors have a responsibility for safeguarding themselves against false accusations on the part of irresponsible persons. School counselors, for example, are warned not to hold conferences long after school hours when almost all others have left the building. And Lloyd-Jones[14] points out the folly of a counselor's "ever having an appointment with a student under conditions that do not insure" his having "assistance with the occasional student who becomes

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 67–68.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 68–70.
[14] Esther Lloyd-Jones and Margaret R. Smith, *A Student Personnel Program for Higher Education*, p. 115. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938.

hysterical or has a seizure of some sort, or who is lacking in self-control to an unusual extent." When interviews are held in an office, ordinarily a secretary should be nearby although not necessarily in sight. Cautious counselors prefer to work in offices which have glass doors or partitions that permit occupants of the office to be seen but not heard. To some administrators and counselors such precautions may seem absurd and unnecessary. To those who have had one bad experience or a narrow escape they may seem wise precautions.

The American Psychological Association[15] has published an operational code for ethics for counselors which contains some of the principles considered above. Some other principles contained in the APA code and not given above are the following: (1) If the counselor's position is such that his relationship with the client is not the confidential relationship normally expected, he should make his role clear to the client at the outset. (2) If any counseling material is used in teaching or writing, the identity of the persons involved should be completely obscured. Some writers, such as Wrenn,[16] would add that the material should not be used without the permission of the persons involved. (3) It is desirable that a counselor "be aware of the inadequacies in his own personality which may bias his appraisal of others or distort his relationship with them" and refrain "from undertaking any activity where his personal limitations are likely to result in inferior service or harm to a client." (4) The counselor values competence and integrity more than expedience or temporary success. He considers it unethical to offer a service outside his area of training or beyond his competence. When he is not competent to serve a client, he refers the client to a specialist. If the client refuses referral and is in "clear and imminent danger," the counselor should insist on referral or refuse to continue the relationship. (5) The counselor undertakes counseling activities, such as using diagnostic instruments and encouraging self-evaluation, only with serious intentions and not in casual relationships. (6) The counselor gives psychological information, such as findings from tests or from a diagnostic appraisal, to a client "in a manner likely to be constructive in his efforts to solve his problems."

Adoption of any code, as Wrenn[17] points out, will not solve the ethical problem of the counselor with respect to conflict between loyalties to client and corresponding loyalties to self, others, and profession. In Wrenn's opinion, the conflict can be solved only by recourse to a framework of values, the framework being, of course, the counselor's system of

[15] APA Committee on Ethical Standards for Psychology, "Ethical Standards for Clinical and Consulting Relationships." *The American Psychologist*, 6:57–64, February, 1951, and 6:145–166, May, 1951.
[16] C. Gilbert Wrenn, "The Ethics of Counseling," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 12:171, Summer, 1952.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 170–177.

values, which should be characterized by the ethical, cultural, and social concepts of the mature person, not the warped value concepts of the immature.

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Procedures in the Counseling Interview

The terms "interviews" and "counseling" are not synonymous, for counseling is a complex process that includes a number of procedures and techniques of which the interview is only one. Also, not all interviews form a part of some counseling process. The interview held, for example, with the school-leaver or the graduate may be held primarily for learning why the former student left school or what the graduate thinks, in the light of his postschool experiences, about the instruction and guidance provided him while in school. If the interview is used solely or chiefly for gaining information to be used in evaluating the school program, it is a research rather than a counseling interview. If, however, it is used also for helping the former student to consider the appropriateness of his present activities and plans and for helping him with some of his problems, then the interview may be as much a counseling as a research interview.

Many interviews that are labeled "counseling" interviews should be given some other name. Some examples: If a faculty member from some college comes to a high school on its annual "college day" to interview the seniors and uses the interview primarily for selling them the idea of attending the college that he represents, the interview is a recruiting or a sales interview rather than one for counseling purposes. If the representative of another college uses the interview for helping the seniors to determine whether their college plans are appropriate, to clarify their purposes in going to college, and to determine in which colleges they can achieve their purposes and at the same time be able to meet the standards set by the colleges, the interview is a counseling interview rather than one for recruiting purposes.

When the dean of boys sends for a student to tell him he must conform to the rules or quit school, the interview should not be described as one for counseling but rather as one for decreeing or ordering. If a father telephones the boys' vice-principal and asks him to see to it that his son gives up "his crazy notion of quitting school to join the air force" and if the vice-principal holds an interview with the boy in which he directs

all his efforts toward trying to convince the boy that he should stay in school, as his father wishes, and does not encourage the boy to explain or discuss fully his wish to enter military service, again the interview cannot be labeled "counseling" but must be called "selling" or "advising."

Similarly, if the dean of girls spends an interview period in trying to get some young "sinner" to see the error of her ways and to promise never to do such things again, the interview cannot properly by called "counseling." It must be called "exhorting" or "warning" or "threatening" or "reforming" or something else in keeping with the interview procedures and the attitude of the dean of girls. Nor can the outcome of the interview be accurately described as "reform," for it is very doubtful that such interviews ever lead to any real reform. The chief outcome is probably compliance rather than insight and desire to change. Complying may actually be practiced only when there is a strong chance that the doing of "such things" will again be discovered by the dean.

GENERAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF COUNSELING

Counseling can be classified according to the nature of the problem, the counseling methods, the complexity of treatment, and the competence of the counselor. Classifications according to certain methods (directive, nondirective, and eclectic) are considered later in this chapter.

Some writers classify counseling in terms of several factors. Lloyd-Jones and Smith,[1] for example, describe various levels of counseling with respect to the depth of the problem, length of contact, degree of need, and skill of the worker. At the surface level is the counseling offered when the student wishes only some item of information. The counseling given may be casual in that it is brief, and it may be superficial in that it is not extensive or intensive, but it is not superficial in the sense of being shallow and of little value. The need for help is important even though slight, and the relationship maintained through the brief contact should not be of any lesser quality than that maintained during the long counseling session. Moreover, the quality of service should be high. The counselor should take care not only to provide information that is accurate and sufficiently comprehensive; but, remembering that the ultimate objective is self-guidance, he should also take care to help the student learn to acquire such information on his own by informing him of sources and also, perhaps, by instructing him in their use.

Counseling at the next level requires a more prolonged contact because the counselee needs more information and more complicated informa-

[1] Esther Lloyd-Jones and Margaret R. Smith, *A Student Personnel Program for Higher Education*, p. 107. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938.

all his efforts toward trying to convince the boy that he should stay in school, as his father wishes, and does not encourage the boy to explain or discuss fully his wish to enter military service, again the interview cannot be labeled "counseling" but must be called "selling" or "advising."

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tion. He may, for example, wish assistance in choosing between two vocations, both apparently appropriate, or assistance in planning a program of study for a two- or a four-year period. As the problems become more complicated and as more intensive study of the case is required and more specialized help is needed, counseling at deeper levels becomes necessary. When the student is seriously disturbed, even though his problem seems simple to others, therapeutic counseling may be needed. The needs of some students for therapeutic counseling can be met by specialists in guidance; but, when a student is severely disturbed by some persistent problem and shows serious neurotic or psychotic symptoms, psychiatric counseling may be indicated. Such cases should be referred to a highly trained specialist, such as a clinical psychologist or a psychiatrist, who is much better equipped to provide the therapy that is needed.

It is not wise, as Williamson,[3] Thorne,[4] and others point out, to identify all counseling with psychotherapy. To limit counseling to deep therapy is to exclude the type of counseling most frequently given by school counselors and the kind that school counselors are usually best qualified to give. Without minimizing the importance of counseling as therapy, Williamson points out that counseling is needed not only for helping individuals to gain insight into their emotional conflicts but also for helping them with problems stemming from lack of information, such as information about vocational aptitudes and interests or about work opportunities, so that they may conduct their future adjustments in such a way that a "minimum of maladaptive repressions recur."

Williamson does not believe that maladjustments are either largely or most importantly represented by the affective type of problem situation (emotional type of problem situation) or that nonaffective situations and problems are so simple that the counseling methods used are also very simple. He states that we should devote as much time to the individual with the nonaffective problem as is necessary for helping him to find valid and relevant solutions to his problems and to learn problem-solving methods. Thus students may become prepared to deal effectively with their adjustment problems before they become so involved with conflicts that deep and complicated therapy is needed. Those who believe that counseling should have developmental and preventive values as well as remedial value will not find it difficult to accept this broadened concept of counseling.

[3] E. G. Williamson, *Counseling Adolescents*, pp. 213–215. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950.
[4] F. C. Thorne, *Principles of Personality Counseling*, p. 86. Brandon, Vt.: Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1950.

GENERAL PROCEDURES IN THE INTERVIEW

Once a sufficiently strong working relationship has been established with the counselee, counseling develops through certain steps or stages that are, in general, very similar to the steps described by Dewey[4] as the central factors in reflective thinking: (1) A difficulty is felt, and "the mind leaps forward to possible solutions." (2) The problem is defined. There is "an intellectualization of the difficulty or perplexity that has been felt (directly experienced) into a problem to be solved." (3) Possible solutions come to mind, and one suggestion after another is used "as a leading idea, or hypothesis." (4) The hypothesis is explored through "mental elaboration of the idea or supposition." (5) The hypothesis is tested "by overt or imaginative action."

Defining and Exploring the Problem Situation. Counseling, like thinking, usually has its origin in some perplexity, confusion, or doubt. A student does not know which curriculum to follow or which vocation to prepare for or how to find a job or how to convince his girl that he should not consider marriage until he finishes college or how to convince his parents that he is not willing for music to be merely an avocation but wants to make a career in it or how to overcome self-consciousness and some other handicaps created by a physical defect or how to improve his school marks so that he may gain admission to the college of his choice or how to do something else that he wishes very much to do but does not know how to do. The student is in a state of perplexity or mental and emotional confusion; so he goes to his counselor, seeking assistance with the problem.

In order that both he and the student may learn just what the difficulty is, the counselor encourages the student to talk about the situation and to tell just how he feels about it. Then he may try to help the student to define his problem more clearly by asking the student for further explanations and examples, by raising questions regarding purposes, and restating the attitudes, feelings, and ideas expressed by the student: "I am not sure I understand; can you tell me more?" "You want to get married but are afraid that, if you do, you will never become a lawyer?" "Could you explain by telling me about one time when that happened?" Even while the student is trying to state his problem, he may begin to see what he can do about it—the courses of action open to him. The counselor tries to help the student to consider points and possibilities not yet perceived. He encourages the student to try out in his thinking some of the courses open to him so that he will perceive and consider points and possibilities

[4] John Dewey, *How We Think*, rev. ed., p. 107. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1933.

that he has apparently overlooked. The counselor does this by helping the student to anticipate some possible consequences of his adopting a particular course, by raising questions about the relations of some alternatives to the plans and purposes presented by the student, by summarizing, and doing such other things.

Just as in reflective thinking a person does not proceed in an orderly fashion through the five steps, the counselor and counselee do not proceed in any fixed order through the various stages of the counseling sessions. (More than one interview may be needed.) The steps overlap and do not come in any set order. While stating his problem, the student, for example, may perceive, consider, and discard one possibility for solution. Later after he has gained release from tension through full expression of some of his feelings and has gained some self-understanding through telling just what he wants and how he hopes to get it, the student may go back to look again at the alternative hastily considered and abruptly discarded in the beginning. He may think about it aloud during the interview; between interviews he may think about it silently and may experiment with it through actual trial; and eventually he may make it his "final choice."

By accepting unperturbed the student's running hither and yon in his thinking and talking and by honestly, sincerely trying to see the situation as the student sees it, the counselor helps the student to explore the situation and to arrive at something definite in the way of an answer to his problem; for he knows that the decision must be made by the student, not by him the counselor. Should the student return later to report it not by him the counselor. Should the student return later to report in not feeling chagrin or disgust, "It didn't work," the counselor does not say, "I am not surprised. You were much too impatient and did not take time to think." He says, instead, "All right, let's try again. You say it didn't work. Tell me about it." The counselor knows that perhaps the fault is as much his as the student's. Maybe he tried to do the student's thinking for him, pressing the student to see things his way or not letting the student proceed at his own rate of speed. Maybe the counselor asked too many questions; maybe he did not ask enough of the right kind. Maybe both he and the student need to try again.

Use of Questions. The extent to which questions should be asked and the types of questions that should be asked are matters that usually puzzle the beginning interviewer. The authorities agree that asking leading questions (questions that suggest the answers) and cross-questioning should be avoided and that asking questions too early in the interview may alienate the counselee. Most writers indicate that, in general, questioning should be delayed, that a student is likely to give more information and more accurate information through free narration than through a response to a series of questions. If free narration by the student precedes

questions by the counselor, the counselor is better able to ask his questions in such a way that they will yield supplementary and verifying or contradictory information without putting the student on the defensive or directing his talk away from points that are relevant but which at first may not be recognized as being so.

Asking questions too soon and too directly will help to strengthen rather than to weaken the interviewee's resistance to a counselor's efforts to get him to reveal significant facts about himself. When rapport has been established and the interviewee's confidence securely gained, the counselor can then employ the technique of asking direct questions. Free unguided talking must be permitted first, however, because, as Shaffer[1] points out, the free narrative approach aids rapport. Having told his story, the subject sees the interviewer as an "insider" and feels less resistance to direct questions than if they were asked at the beginning.

Preparing for and Recording the Interview. The interview includes two steps or procedures in which the counselor does not participate with the counselor. One step, preparing for the interview—takes place before the student enters the conference room, and the other step, recording the interview—takes place after he leaves it. Preparation includes making provisions against interruptions as well as studying records on the case. In order that the interview may lead to new information and new understanding on the part of both counselor and student, the worker must examine the records and think over the case before the interview begins. He should not, for example, use the interview time for seeking factual information already in the record.

To review the records is not very helpful if the worker does not take time to make a record of each interview. It may not be possible or practical to write a full report immediately after the interview, but some notes should be made at once to prevent too much forgetting. The narrative report that covers the interview as fully as possible is to be preferred to a concise summary. Things talked about during the interview that *seem* of little importance at the time may later take on new meaning and be found more significant than first believed. Such things are more likely to be included in a narrative account than in a concise summary.

Whether or not notes should be taken during the interview depends upon the student, the counselor, and the relationship between the two. If the student feels that the counselor is sincerely interested in him and his affairs, he will not think it strange that the counselor occasionally takes notes as he talks. He may see the note taking only as evidence that the counselor thinks that what he says is important. Letting the student look over the notes at the close of the interview may be a good technique;

[1] L. F. Shaffer, *The Psychology of Adjustment*, p. 458. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936.

but, as in the case of the social worker who showed her schedule of questions and her report on responses to the mothers whom she interviewed, the technique is less important than the attitude of the technician.

THREE APPROACHES TO THE COUNSELING INTERVIEW

The methods employed by a particular interviewer are likely to follow a general pattern in accordance with his acceptance of the assumptions and principles of a specific school of thought with respect to counseling. While it cannot be said that there are only three schools of thought—directive, nondirective, and eclectic—these are the three viewpoints that seem to be currently most influential in the practice of counseling.

The interview procedures as presented by one leader in each of these three schools of thought are summarized below. No authority quoted here indicates that the interview steps, as he outlines them, are mutually exclusive or proceed in any rigid order. The steps overlap and intermingle, and their order varies from one case to another, but in most cases the basic pattern is the same.

Directive Counseling

In student personnel work directive counseling is usually thought of as being the type most frequently associated with the teachings of Williamson and Darley and described as "clinical counseling" by Williamson. While some writers, such as Bordin,[a] seem to limit the meaning of "counseling" to "an interview relationship," Williamson defines the term in several ways. Writing with Hahn,[b] he uses it broadly, making it synonymous with "guidance." Writing alone, he uses the term in two ways: (1) to name a process (clinical counseling) and (2) to designate one step (treatment) in that process. In general, his presentations are focused upon "vocational counseling."

Williamson differentiates "clinical counseling" from "advising," "therapy," and other types of counseling and presents it as a system of counseling that involves "six essential steps:"[c] (1) analysis—collecting from a variety of sources the data needed for an adequate understanding of the student; (2) synthesis—summarizing and organizing the data so that they reveal the student's assets, liabilities, adjustments, and maladjustments; (3) diagnosis—formulating conclusions regarding the nature and the cause of the problems exhibited by the student; (4) prognosis—

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[a] E. S. Bordin, "Developments in Interviewing Techniques," in E. G. Williamson, editor, *Trends in Student Personnel Work*, p. 105. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949.

[b] E. G. Williamson and M. E. Hahn, *Introduction to High School Counseling*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940.

[c] Williamson, *Counseling Adolescents*, pp. 101–126.

predicting the future development of the student's problem; (5) counseling—the counselor's taking steps with the student to bring about adjustment and readjustment for the student; and (6) follow-up—helping the student with new problems or with recurrences of the original problem and determining the effectiveness of the counseling provided him.

When the preliminary testing and interviewing have been done and when a dependable diagnosis has been made, certain interview techniques or methods are used for helping the student to achieve "optimum adjustment and maximum satisfactions." The procedures to be used in step 5 (counseling) are as follows:

1. The counselor establishes rapport with the student. He should be, Williamson states, "personal in his manner and impersonal in his interest," taking care to maintain with the student the type of relation that Strang[a] has described as being "a happy medium between domination and aloofness."

2. To cultivate the student's enlightened self-understanding, the counselor must translate into the student's own language the technical facts made available by analysis. This translating, Williamson cautions, should not, however, be carried to the point of causing the student to think that both he and the counselor are "in the same state of ignorance" regarding the student's assets and liabilities. Therefore, the counselor must maintain an attitude and bearing indicative of his professional background, which gives him an advantage over the student in interpreting the data.[10] The interview procedures to be followed at this point are described in this excerpt:[11]

> In interpreting and translating the diagnosis and in explaining the evidence leading to that diagnosis, the counselor must make certain, as he proceeds, that the student is following him in the marshaling of the evidence leading to that diagnosis. The counselor proceeds no more rapidly in his explanation than the student can follow. The counselor does not enumerate in detail all the steps in his own diagnosing nor does he touch upon all the evidence. He telescopes his own thinking, marshaling only that evidence which appears to be relevant to that diagnosis and to the desirable programs of action. This means that he mentions facts which point to, or from which he infers, his diagnosis and mentions, for purposes of persuasion, those liabilities which rule out certain lines of action.

3. The counselor advises or plans a program of action with the student. Beginning with the student's point of view, attitudes, and goals, the counselor "lists those phases of the diagnosis which are favorable to that

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[a] Ruth Strang. *Behavior and Background of Students in College and Secondary School*, p. 49. New York. Harper & Brothers, 1937.

[10] Williamson, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

point of reference and those which are unfavorable. Then he balances them, or sums up the evidence for and against, and explains why he advises the student to shift goals, to change social habits, or to retain the present ones."[12] If the student's confidence has been secured, the student should be ready to discuss the evidence and to cooperate with the counselor in working out a plan of action. If, however, the student is in a state of mental conflict, it may be necessary first to provide "mental hygiene counseling" or to integrate it with other types of counseling. Ordinarily, however, the counselor presents his point of view with definiteness and tries to enlighten the student through exposition. He avoids a dogmatic position but displays an attitude of bringing knowledge, experience, and judgment to the assistance of the student.

On the other hand, the counselor does not at any time appear indecisive to the extent of permitting loss of confidence in the validity of his information. He maintains a varied and running discussion of the case data, constantly shifting his exposition and illustrations in terms of the student's verbal and facial reactions during the interview. In this way, the counselor seeks to arrive *cooperatively* at an interpretation of data and a program of training which will strike fire in the student's imagination and will result in a desire to achieve a goal which will be of lasting satisfaction because it is consonant with potentialities.[13]

When the counselor has reviewed the evidence for his diagnosis, he "is ready to advise *with* the student as to a program of action consistent with, and growing out of, the diagnosis." The methods of advising are described as "*direct, persuasive, and explanatory.*" In direct advising the counselor frankly states which course should be followed by the student. This method is used with the students who insist upon a frank opinion and with those who persist in their own choice, one "which the counselor has reason to believe will lead to serious failure and loss of morale."[14] The persuasive method is used when the data indicate that one choice is to be preferred over all alternatives. The explanatory method is considered the most satisfactory but is one that requires many interviews. "The counselor gives more time to explaining the significance of diagnostic data and to pointing out possible situations in which the student's potentialities will prove useful."[15]

4. The counselor assists the student in carrying out the plan. His training and experience determine the type of direct help that he gives the student.

5. Referral is made to some other worker. Other counselors are asked to give assistance by checking diagnoses and reviewing the counseling

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 229–230.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 231. The italics are in the original.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 233.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

suggestions, and the student may be referred to others for specialized information and assistance which the counselor cannot provide. Both types of referral—referral for assistance with diagnoses and for assistance with counseling or treatment—may be used at any point during the counseling process.[16]

The considerable use of interpretation and direction by the counselor has led to this type of counseling being described as the counselor-centered or active approach. As indicated in the summary and quotations given above, the central features of this type of counseling seem to be the following:

1. During the interview attention is focused upon a particular problem and possibilities for its solution.

2. The counselor is more competent than the counselee to appraise the problem situation, to perceive the best plan for solution, and to determine the most efficient way of carrying out the plan. Consequently, during the interview the counselor plays a more active role than the counselee.

3. The counselor makes the decision, but the counselor does all that he can to get the counselee to make a decision in keeping with his diagnosis. He tries to direct the thinking of the counselee by informing, explaining, interpreting, and advising.

Writers of the counselor-centered point of view do not advocate the use of such methods in all cases. Williamson[17] says, for example, that they are not general techniques but rather "particularized procedures" that are to be used only when they are appropriate. He indicates that these procedures are most appropriate for providing "personalized assistance" with a wide variety of "transitional, situational, and developmental" problems. As already pointed out, he says that if emotional blockings are at the base of a problem, then "mental-hygiene counseling" should be employed.

Nondirective Counseling

The historical origins of nondirective or client-centered counseling are found in the work of Rank and Taft, but in student personnel work this type of counseling is commonly associated with the name of Carl Rogers, who has done much to systematize the theory on which such counseling is based. Rogers[18] describes a counseling process that characteristically includes 12 steps. Briefly summarized they are as follows:

1. The individual comes for help. Rogers believes that successful counseling is not very probable if the client is not under sufficient stress to recognize his need for assistance. However, even if some person other

than the client is responsible for the client's being in the interview situation, the counselor can do a satisfactory job if he handles the opening interview in such a way that the client can become acquainted with the permissive relationship that leaves up to him the decision whether or not he continues in the situation.[18]

2. The counseling situation is defined. The counselor indicates that he does not have the answers but is able to provide a place and an atmosphere in which the client can work out the answers or solutions to his problems. The counselor's basic function is to establish an atmosphere or climate that helps the client to free himself from the forces impeding his growth and that makes possible "self-initiated development." "The counseling atmosphere is built upon respect for the person, tolerance, and acceptance of differences, faith in the person's ability to accept responsibility for his own conduct, and freedom for growth toward maturity."[20] A counselor cannot establish this type of atmosphere unless he has respect for the integrity of the client and faith in the client's ability to help himself. If the desired type of atmosphere is established, a period of release follows.

3. By displaying a friendly, interested, receptive attitude, the counselor encourages free expression of feelings regarding the problem. The feelings first expressed are generally negative and ambivalent feelings—feelings of hostility, anxiety, concern, guilt, and indecision.

[The client] tells about things he dislikes, which irritate him, which disgust him, which bother him, which worry him; or he discusses things about which he is not sure how he feels, that he at once likes and dislikes. As he gets rid of these negative feelings, he experiences some relief from the tension and pressure that he felt before. Finding that these attitudes can be accepted by the counselor, he becomes able to accept them himself. No longer is it necessary for him to hide these feelings or to deny that he has them. He now faces them squarely and finds that they have lost much of their flavor of guilt, shame, or inferiority. In other words, the client finds himself relieved of the confusing tensions that prevented him from coming squarely to grips with the real problem.[21]

4. The counselor responds to the feelings underlying the client's words rather than to the intellectual content. He accepts, recognizes, and helps to clarify the negative feelings. Through his own calm acceptance he helps the client both to express and to accept his feelings.

5. Full expression of negative feelings is followed by faint and tentative expressions of positive feelings.

[18] C. R. Rogers and J. L. Wallen, Counseling with Returned Servicemen, p. 48. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946.
[20] Ibid., p. 23.
[21] Ibid., p. 49.

6. The counselor accepts and recognizes the positive feelings as he does the negative ones. At times he helps the client to clarify his feelings and attitudes by restating them more clearly than the client has done. Because some persons confuse clarification with evaluation and interpretation, Rogers believes that it may be well "to give up the description of the counselor's role as being that of clarifying the client's attitudes." He offers a new explanation or formulation to the effect that "it is the counselor's function to assume, in so far as he is able, the internal frame of reference of the client, to perceive the world as the client sees it, to perceive the client himself as he is seen by himself, to lay aside all perceptions from the external frame of reference while doing so, and to communicate something of this emphatic understanding to the client."[22] That the skilled counselor is able to follow the client's lead and to perceive from his frame of reference is indicated in the following quotations from accounts of their reactions by two clients, reported by Lipkin[23] and used as illustrations by Rogers:[24]

"During the interviews my psycologist [sic] took my views & thoughts and made them so that I could understand what was going on. He didn't conclude them but stated them back to me so I could draw my own conclusions. Things we talked about seemed clearer in my mind & organized it to an exteot where now I believe [sic] I can think things out for myself."

"I started to talk of the things that bothered me, and, at intervals, Mr. L. solidified my ramblings into a few clear concise words. . . .

"Many of the thoughts and fears in my mind were vague—I couldn't say exactly what they were. I couldn't put them into exact, clear words. . . . "

7. The period of release or free expression is followed by a gradual development of insight. "In response to the demands of society, the individual has submerged much of his own urge for self expression" and "has built up an inaccurate picture of himself. Because he has had to repress or to deny many of his feelings about himself as well as about those surrounding him, the client has often developed a distorted conception of the kind of person he really wants to be."[25] In the permissive atmosphere of the counseling situation the client can see his inner strengths and weaknesses in a new and different perspective and can come to an understanding and acceptance of the real self.

8. As the client recognizes and accepts emotionally as well as intellectually his real attitudes and desires, as he comes to a clearer under-

[22] C. R. Rogers *et al., Client-centered Therapy,* pp. 28–29. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951.

[23] Stanley Lipkin, "The Client Evaluates Nondirective Psychotherapy." *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* 12:140, 145, May–June, 1948.

[24] Rogers *et al., op. cit.,* pp. 70, 78.

[25] Rogers and Wallen, *op. cit.,* pp. 50–51.

standing of the causes of his behavior and gains a fresh perception of his life situation, he perceives the decisions that he must make and the possible courses of action open to him. The counselor's function here is to help clarify the different choices which might be made, and to recognize the feeling of fear and the lack of courage to go ahead which the individual is experiencing. It is not his function to urge a certain course of action or to give advice."[26]

9. The client begins to translate insight into action. "Concomitantly with, or following from, the development of insight, positive steps toward the solution of the problem situation begin to occur."[27]

10. Further growth takes place with further achievement of insight.

11. There is increasingly integrated positive action.

12. A decreased need for help is felt, and the relationship is ended. The client is the one who decides to end the contacts. "It is important that the client be given the freedom to make the decision, for it is the representation of the final choice to accept responsibility for his own behavior. By terminating the contacts, he is breaking his tie with the counselor and resuming a full measure of responsibility for the life situation in which he finds himself."[28]

In client-centered therapy diagnosis is the responsibility of the client, not of the counselor. In support of this point of view Rogers offers the following propositional statements:[29]

Behavior is caused, and the psychological cause of behavior is a certain perception or a way of perceiving.

The client is the only one who has the potentiality of knowing fully the dynamics of his perceptions and his behavior.

In order for behavior to change, a change in perception must be *experienced*. Intellectual knowledge cannot substitute for this.

The constructive forces which bring about altered perception, reorganization of self, and relearning, reside primarily in the client, and probably cannot come from outside.

Therapy is basically the experiencing of the inadequacies in old ways of perceiving, the experiencing of new and more accurate and adequate perceptions, and the recognition of significant relationships between perceptions.

In a very meaningful and accurate sense, therapy *is* diagnosis, and this diagnosis is a process which goes on in the experience of the client, rather than in the intellect of the clinician.

Diagnosis in the form of evaluation by the counselor is, Rogers says, unnecessary and in some ways detrimental or unwise because it increases

[26] Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
[27] Rogers and Wallen, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.
[29] Rogers *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 221–223. The italics are in the original.

dependent tendencies in the client and has the long-range social implications of social control of the many by the few.

Rogers accepts information giving as a function of the counselor, but warns that the counselor should not assume that the basic difficulty stems from a lack of information. He says, for example:[20]

> It is true that some clients need only certain very specific information. Often they will be satisfied with reference to appropriate books or magazine sources that will tell them what they want to know. In most cases, however, the counselor can never be sure that this is all that is required unless he is convinced that the client has felt free to talk about anything he wished—whether related directly to his vocational or educational problems or not. Any person may go to a book for information, but when he consults another person it is not always just pure information seeking. The meaning of the personal relationship with the counselor must be assessed. What use is the client attempting to make of his relationship with the counselor? Perhaps he wants reassurance on a course of action he has chosen; perhaps he is afraid to make a decision by himself; perhaps he wants someone to side in with him against his parents' wishes. The point is that consulting another person for information is a much different action from consulting a book. The counselor should be alert for signs that the person really wants something more than information from the counseling relation.

While Rogers does not stress information giving, he acknowledges that information giving may fulfill valuable functions.[21] He lists three: (1) Information is used to help clarify a choice. The client, for example, may want to know how much training is required for a certain job. (2) Information is used to implement a decision. The client may decide not to seek a job but, instead, to go to college. To carry out this decision, he may need information about particular colleges. (3) Information is used to help the client discover his real problem. The client may want to take tests and to read books about various vocations. After learning the test results and securing information about certain occupations, he may discover that what he really wants to know is how to decide which vocation he should plan to enter.

The central features of nondirective counseling include the following:

1. The focus is upon the client who plays a much more active role than the counselor.

2. Counseling is a growth experience. The goal is the independence and integration of the client rather than the solution of a particular problem.

3. The principal function of the counselor is not to cultivate self-understanding in the client but, instead, to create an atmosphere in which the client can work out his own understanding.

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[20] Rogers and Wallen, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–104.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 95–99.

4. The emotional elements or the feeling aspects are stressed rather than the intellectual aspects.

5. Counseling leads to a voluntary choice of goals and a conscious selection of courses of action.

Eclectic Counseling

Some writers, such as Hahn and Kendall[32] and Stone,[33] state that an analysis of the counseling methods shows that they may be evaluated along a continuum from nondirective to directive. Bordin[34] believes that the analysis must be along more than one continuum and suggests that it be in terms of three dimensions: (1) "the amount of responsibility ceded to the client for the solution of his problem," (2) "the degree of attention or sensitivity of the counselor's *responses* to client's attitudes and feelings," (3) "the degree of stimulation of intellectual versus emotional responses on the part of the client." Bordin believes that Rogers and Williamson are toward opposite ends of the pole with respect to the first and third dimensions but not very far apart with respect to the second.

Eclectic counseling is based on concepts taken deliberately from the views of others rather than based on one viewpoint exclusively. When a counselor deliberately *tries to incorporate* in his practice both directive and nondirective concepts, the result is eclecticism. When a counselor does not make a serious sincere attempt to understand both the directive and nondirective viewpoints but, instead, follows a procedure based on what Hilgard[35] has described as "the general formula, 'There's much good to be said on all sides,'" the eclecticism is vague, superficial, and most probably opportunistic.

Some writers do not think that eclecticism is possible because they believe that directive and nondirective concepts cannot be merged. Others believe that disagreements regarding the conflicting theories cannot be dissolved by taking sides or by developing compromise hypotheses; but they believe that the controversy may be settled by incorporating into a new theory whatever is found through research to be good, useful, or valid in the different theories. The following passage indicates that Rogers[36] is of this point of view.

[32] M. E. Hahn and W. R. Kendall, "Some Comments in Defense of 'Non-nondirective' Counseling," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 11:74–81, March–April, 1947.

[33] D. R. Stone, "Logical Analysis of the Directive, Non-Directive Continuum," *Occupations*, 28:295–297, February, 1950.

[34] E. S. Bordin, "Dimensions of the Counseling Process," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 4:240–244, July, 1948.

[35] E. R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning*, p. 17. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948. Used by permission of the publishers.

[36] Rogers et al., *op. cit.*, p. 8.

These schools of thought will not be abolished by wishful thinking. The person who attempts to reconcile them by compromise will find himself left with a superficial eclecticism which does not increase objectivity, and which leads nowhere. Truth is not arrived at by concessions from different schools of thought. The eventual disappearance of such rival formulations comes about either when the issues are settled by research evidence, or when both types of hypotheses are absorbed into some new and more penetrating view which sees the problems from a new vantage point, thus redefining the issues in a way not hitherto perceived.

No doubt, the best systematized presentation of eclectic counseling offered so far is the one given by Thorne. Describing eclecticism as "the most tenable orientation to the theory and practice of personality counseling,"[37] he states that a counselor must be competent and proficient in the use of all available methods. "The validity of the results will be determined by the skill with which any method is used with reference to etiologic diagnosis and the indications of each individual case. *The critical factor is not what method is used but rother the skill with which it is used.*"[38]

Five steps are involved in the learning or counseling process, as described by Thorne:[39] "(*a*) the diagnosis of the causes of personality maladjustment, (*b*) the making of a plan for modifying etiologic factors, (*c*) securing proper conditions for efficient learning, (*d*) stimulating the client to develop his own resources and assume responsibility for practicing new modes of adjustment, and (*e*) the proper handling of any related problems which may contribute to adjustment." The counselor may delegate responsibility for various phases of counseling to the client, but he is responsible for planning and carrying out treatment or counseling.

Thorne finds that it is possible for a counselor to alternate between nondirective and directive methods even in the same interview without disrupting, or disrupting for long, the nondirective permissive relationship with the client. "The client will usually accept anything which is done within reason providing it is done tactfully and in nonthreatening manner."[40] To indicate the use of specific active (directive) or passive (nondirective) methods, he offers the following generalizations:[41]

1. In general, passive methods should be used whenever possible.
2. Active methods should be used only with specific indication. In general,

[37] Thorne, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 88. The italics are in the original.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 112–113.

only a minimum of directive interference is necessary to achieve therapeutic goals.

3. Passive techniques are usually *the methods of choice in the early stages of therapy* when the client is telling his story and to permit emotional release.

4. The *law of parsimony* should be observed at all times. Complicated methods should not be attempted (except with specific indications) until simpler methods have failed.

5. *All therapy should be client-centered.* This means that the client's interests are the prime consideration. It *does not mean that directive methods are contra-indicated.* In many cases, the client's needs indicate directive action.

6. It is desirable to give every client an opportunity to resolve his problems nondirectively. Inability of the client to progress therapeutically, using passive methods alone, is an indication for utilizing more directive methods.

7. *Directive methods are usually indicated in situational maladjustment* where a solution cannot be achieved without the cooperation of other persons.

8. Some degree of directiveness is inevitable in all counseling, even if only in reaching the decision to use passive methods.

The extent to which Thorne incorporates directive and nondirective concepts in his theory of counseling is further indicated in his discussions of such matters as insight, interpretation, and the ending of contacts: The client reaches a large number of insights piecemeal. As he "works over his problems, little insights and emotional releases become cumulative and contribute to the solution of individual components"[41] of his difficulty. The client who is verbally expressive is asked at various points to formulate—conclusions or to give summarizing statements. If the client is unable to do this by himself, the counselor may have to provide "interpretive summaries of the whole process of therapy, or of selected aspects." The needs of the client rather than any preconceived theory are the factors that determine the optimum length of treatment. While most counseling, Thorne finds, tends to end spontaneously, as if by mutual consent, the counselor is responsible for seeing that treatment does not end prematurely and that it terminates at the optimum time. "A client who is known to be at an acute crisis of conflicts must not be allowed to terminate treatment until all resources fail."[42]

THE TREND?

Before publication in 1942 of Roger's *Counseling and Psychotherapy* the counseling provided in most high schools and colleges was probably more directive than nondirective, whereas the counseling provided by many social workers, child-guidance clinicians, and mental hygienists

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

was more client-centered than counselor-centered. Because the student-counselor relationship in directive counseling is more in keeping with the traditional student-teacher relationship than is the relationship in nondirective counseling, some teacher-counselors find it difficult to offer counseling of a nondirective nature.

Also, because in its most highly developed form nondirective counseling is a long slow process, some student personnel workers consider nondirective counseling too time-consuming for its use to be practical in the school situation. However, directive counseling as described by Williamson is also time-consuming when offered in its most highly developed form. As stated above, Williamson considers the explanatory method better than the direct or persuasive methods of advising. It is "by all odds," he says, "the most complete and satisfactory method of counseling, but it requires many interviews."[44] Considerable time is usually required for counseling students with problems of any depth or degree of seriousness. To be effective, such counseling must be a gradual process.

To try to short-cut the counseling process through use of highly directive techniques is more likely to result in a loss of time than in any saving. A high-school counselor may find, for example, that he is spending considerable time with certain students because they are being repeatedly referred to his office. The amount of time that he spends with each boy or girl during any one interview session is not very much but because he has to see these same students repeatedly, the cumulative amount of time is great. It would be much less expensive in terms of time if he would spend more time during the first interview in trying to establish a good working relationship, in trying to create a permissive and accepting atmosphere, and in trying to understand the student and his (or her) problems. Then, perhaps, his counseling might have better results in the way of correction or cure; for the students might find the counseling relationship therapeutic. Needless to say, to use ineffectual methods because they require less time than more effectual procedures is exceedingly wasteful.

Because the client-centered approach is in harmony with the principles of "pupil-centered education" and the "whole child" concept, many school people are now trying to apply nondirective techniques and concepts in teaching and in other forms of group work as well as in counseling. On the whole, the descriptive accounts of school practices offered in the professional journals indicate a general trend toward nondirective methods. Moreover, there is some evidence of a modification of viewpoints on the part of certain leaders in the field of counselor-centered counseling. Compare, for example, two outlines of the counseling inter-

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[44] Williamson, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

view offered by Darley at different times, one in 1943[45] and the other in 1946.[46] The first presentation is in part so authoritarian that it is difficult to reconcile it with certain concepts considered basic in a democracy. The 1946 presentation is also an outline of the interview in counselor-centered counseling; but it is less counselor-centered than the first; and so, perhaps, it may be considered as evidence of a trend toward a less directive approach. The second outline is not so authoritarian as the first and contains some statements that are generally considered more characteristic of nondirective than directive counseling. Some examples are the following:

The interviewer must indicate to the client that he has accepted but not passed judgment on these feelings and attitudes. Merely saying, "I see," or "I understand," or, "Yes," will serve to bridge the conversational gap and to keep the client talking (p. 15).

Reflecting feelings and attitudes means that you hold up a mirror, so to speak, in which the client can see the meaning and significance of his deep-seated feelings (p. 16).

Generally speaking, if the interviewer talks considerably more than one-half the time, that interview will be less productive than the one in which the client talks more than one-half the time (p. 16).

The client is not asking the interviewer for his opinion or his experiences. The client is really formulating his own opinions in a way that will permit him to criticize himself (p. 17).

Bordin[47] points to a trend toward the gradual sloughing off of the "artificial distinctions between vocational and personal counseling." Undoubtedly, there is definite evidence of increased recognition of the complexity of problems and of the complicated nature of counseling. Problems and counseling, we now realize, cannot be typed as vocational, health, financial, social, and the like. The client's problem is a complex pattern of many interrelated parts. To consider only one part during the interview and to disregard the others is to help the client only in part. Fortunately, there are signs of a definite trend away from the segmenting of students and other clients in counseling.

Perhaps the most important trend is the trend away from argument about the merits of various theories toward objective evaluation through research studies designed to compare some part of the counseling interview or the total counseling process according to some one theory with

45 J. G. Darley, *Testing and Counseling in the High School Guidance Program,* Chap. 7. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1943.

46 J. G. Darley, *The Interview in Counseling: An Outline of Interviewing Procedures for Use of Community Advisory Centers.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946.

47 Bordin, "Developments in Interviewing Techniques," p. 110.

some part or the total process according to some other theories or schools of thought. Many persons hope that such research may lead to agreement on some points. Only a few studies of this type have been reported. One example is found in the work of Fiedler,[18] whose investigations are considered by some authorities to be a start in the right direction and for that reason very important in spite of the fact that the findings are of limited significance because the studies are based on small numbers.

In two related studies Fiedler tried to find out whether "theory and technique influence therapists' beliefs about the nature of the ideal therapeutic relationship" and whether "the therapeutic relationship is a unique phenomenon which exists only within the therapeutic situation." Therapists with different degrees of training and skill and of different schools of thought were asked to sort statements descriptive of the therapeutic relationship—statements taken from books, articles, case records, and conference reports—into categories ranging from the ones most characteristic to the ones least characteristic of the ideal relationship.

In his reports Fiedler uses the terms "therapist" and "patient," instead of "counselor" and "client" or "counselee." His findings show that "the better trained therapists of different schools agreed more highly with each other than they agreed with less well-trained therapists within their own school," suggesting that it is skill and experience rather than theoretical allegiance which determine the type of relationship. The statements rated as most characteristic of the ideal relationship are the following:[19]

An emphatic relationship
Therapist and patient relate well
Therapist sticks closely to the patient's problems
The patient feels free to say what he likes
An atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence exists
Rapport is excellent
The patient assumes an active role
The therapist leaves patient free to make his own choices
The therapist accepts all feelings which the patient expresses as completely normal and understandable
A tolerant atmosphere exists
An understanding therapist
Patient feels most of the time that he is really understood
Therapist is really able to understand patient
The therapist really tries to understand the patient's feelings

The following statements were rated as the least characteristic of the ideal relationship.

* F. E. Fiedler, "The Concept of an Ideal Therapeutic Relationship," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* 14:239–245, August, 1950.
* *Ibid.,* p. 241.

A punitive therapist

Therapist makes the patient feel rejected

The therapist seems to have no respect for the patient

An impersonal cold relationship

The therapist often puts the patient *"in his place"*

The therapist tries to impress the patient with his skill or knowledge

The therapist treats the patient like a child

In one study laymen were able to describe the ideal relationship "in the same manner and about as well as the therapists," which led Fiedler to conclude that the therapeutic relationship may "be but a variation of good interpersonal relationship in general."

In a more elaborate investigation Fiedler[50] attempted to measure the type of relationship actually achieved with clients by therapists of three schools of thought—psychoanalytic, nondirective, and Adlerian. This study, like the others in the series, revealed more similarity among experts of different schools than among experts and nonexperts of the same school. The research procedures included four multiple-factor analyses of wire-recorded therapy interviews from each of ten therapists, half of whom were experts and half nonexperts. The report on results includes the following:

> In each of the factor matrices one factor or a pair of correlated factors was found which clearly differentiates experts from nonexperts regardless of school. These factors are related to the therapist's ability to communicate with and understand the patient, and to his security and his emotional distance to the patient. No factors were found which clearly separate therapists of one school from those of another. The hypothesis of this series of investigations, that the nature of the therapeutic relationship is a function of expertness rather than school, has thus been further supported.[51]

It will probably be a very long time before a theory is developed through research that will prove acceptable to most members of the different schools of thought with regard to counseling. Such a goal may never be reached, and the controversy over the "right" or the "best" method may grow stronger. While some writers find the confusion created by the controversy so great and so frustrating that they would join Panabaker[52] in shouting at the directivists and nondirectivists, "A plague

[49] F. E. Fiedler, "A Comparison of Therapeutic Relationships in Psychoanalytic, Nondirective, and Adlerian Therapy," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 14:436–445, December, 1950; "Factor Analyses of Psychoanalytic, Nondirective, and Adlerian Therapeutic Relationships," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 15:32–38, February, 1951.

[51] Fiedler, "Factor Analyses of Psychoanalytic, Nondirective, and Adlerian Therapeutic Relationships," p. 38.

[52] Harold Panabaker, "Editorial Comment: A Plague on Both Your Houses," *Occupations*, 30:203–209, December, 1951.

on both your houses," others believe with Bordin[53] that the controversy over directive versus nondirective counseling has generated much positive growth and find the effects of the debating more beneficial than harmful. If the debate is stimulating professional growth, then we should bless rather than revile the debators.

TWO ILLUSTRATIONS

Unedited transcriptions of interviews or of portions of interviews provide the best examples of interview procedures. Such transcriptions show, as edited reproductions and fictional examples cannot, the true tempo, the actual dialogue, and the development of the counseling process as it really occurs rather than as it is expected or believed to be. Unedited transcriptions show that sometimes the conversation proceeds slowly and haltingly rather than steadily and smoothly, that both the counselor and the client grope at times, and that statements by the counselor do not always bring forth the type of response expected from the client.

Some fictional examples of interviews give the beginning worker false ideas regarding the pace and progress to be normally expected. Consequently, he may try to speed up the flow of talk and to force some responses or some types of responses. By doing so, he impedes rather than aids the client's progress toward understanding of himself and his problem. Also, if the worker finds his interviews very different from his "models," he may not estimate properly his own understanding of the interview or his success in the use of the technique. As a result, he may become unduly discouraged.

The two examples given below contain actual transcriptions of interviews or parts of interviews. They are taken from books by two of the authorities whose counseling theories are summarized above. In each example the client is a college student whose basic problem is indecision regarding vocational choice but whose immediate or surface problem is school grades and study habits.

Example from Williamson

This material is taken from one of 12 cases contained in the appendix of Williamson's *Counseling Adolescents.*[54] To show that the counseling in these cases follows the general procedures recommended by Williamson, there are given here, in addition to the transcriptions of two interviews, the case material that immediately precedes each interview and the material that comes after the second interview and closes the case.

[53] Bordin, "Developments in Interviewing Techniques," p. 108.
[54] Williamson, *op. cit.*, pp. 510–519, 533–536.

C. Uh huh.

S. Well, I have one difficulty in spelling . . . I'm trying to overcome that . . . taking the spelling lab . . . this quarter . . .

C. Uh huh.

S. And see if that will improve it . . . affect it any . . .

C. You don't think it's the time then . . . you think you're studying enough . . .

S. I think I'm studying enough, yes . . . uh huh . . . (pause) But uh . . . I don't know if it's my study . . . the way I study . . . or what it is . . .

C. Uh huh. Do you think you do a pretty good job of studying when you are studying with time limits?

S. Well, it seems to me . . . I don't know I . . . try to, but . . . just doesn't seem to uh . . . comprehend too much . . .

C. Do you have some trouble understanding what you read?

S. Yes, uh huh. (long pause)

C. How about your reading uh . . . from when you first learned how to read . . . and so on . . . have you uh . . .

S. Well, uh . . .

C. Been able to comprehend right along?

S. Well, not too much . . . I took . . . reading lab last quarter, too . . . I'm . . . I'm always a slow reader . . .

C. You are very slow?

S. Uh huh. Then I took this reading lab fall and winter quarters. I think that . . . helped me a lot.

C. You're talking about the reading lab over in the rhetoric uh . . .

S. Yes.

C. Courses on the Ag Campus?

S. On the Ag Campus, yes.

C. Do you think anything happened there much that . . . that has helped you?

S. Well, I . . . I can read a little faster now . . . and I seem to comprehend . . .

C. Uh huh. You're not quite satisfied still . . . with the way you do.

S. That's right.

C. Uh huh. Sometimes a problem like that is of long standing and you can't hope to build yourself up in a very short time . . . when it is something that has been building up all through your school years. (long pause) Sometimes it's related to other things also . . . I mean it might not be just reading difficulty . . . it might be a lack of interest in your subject . . .

S. Well, that might be . . . because like . . . now chemistry is giving me a hard time. Then there is uh . . . well, I don't know . . . it shouldn't, like some subjects, like in animal subjects . . . animal husbandry . . . subjects and on the Main Campus I should be interested in those . . .

C. You just find that they aren't as interesting as you . . .

S. That's right . . .

C. As you think they should be. **(long pause)** Did uh . . . Mr. Peterson tell you anything about what we might do here? What we might talk about?

S. No, he didn't. He said I should come over and talk to you . . .

C. Uh huh. There are several possibilities . . . what we might do . . . one might be to take some tests . . . uh . . . you've probably had quite a few reading tests . . . if you've been taking some of that work. It might be that other tests, not just reading tests, would give us a picture there. For example, an interest test. **(pause)** Have you ever had anything like that?

S. Uh . . . these uh . . . aptitude tests uh . . . and . . . are those in the same order or . . .

C. Uh, yes. Some of them would be what I'm talking about . . .

S. I . . . took those in my senior year in high school.

C. Did you?

S. Uh huh.

C. Was that an interest test? **(pause)**

S. I don't know, I can't recall what they . . . they called it . . . an interest test or what it was . . .

C. Uh huh. **(pause)** We give many different kinds of tests . . . and they are sometimes lumped together and called aptitude tests . . .

S. Oh, I see.

C. But each one might really be telling you something different about yourself.

S. Uh huh.

C. One might give you an idea of your general ability to handle college work. And another might give you an idea of your interests. Another might give you an idea of your background in math and science . . . **(pause)** . . . and it would be then a combination . . . of all of those that might be considered aptitude. Have you ever seen any test results for yourself?

S. I uh . . . oot . . . I haven't seen the results . . . I think my IQ is . . . it's pretty low . . . let's see, I talked to my high school superintendent. I think he said it was 98 . . . I think it was.

C. When was that?

S. That was my senior . . . uh . . . senior or sophomore year I took this aptitude . . .

C. Uh huh.

S. I mean, I've . . . that doesn't mean too much . . . does it?

C. You mean does that have any bearing on college?

S. Yes, and is it . . .

C. Well, we don't usually talk too much about IQ in terms of college work. We have some other tests that are designed to give you an idea of where you rank with college students . . . and they would perhaps be better. You've never seen how you came out on anything like that?

S. No, I haven't.

C. Would you like to look at your results? I think I have some here for you.

S. I . . . I would.

C. Do you remember taking that science test and the algebra test last September when you entered?

S. Uh huh. Yes, I do . . .

C. Those results might be the kind of thing that we're talking about. (pause) Here they are on the sheet here . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. In this column it indicates where you ranked . . . on a percentage basis . . . compared to entering agriculture freshmen. This number places you on a rank on a scale from 1 to 100.

S. Uh huh.

C. If you were then at the 50 on that, that would mean that you were right at the average.

S. Uh huh . . . (pause) So I'm below average . . .

C. The ranking there would be below average. (pause) Those tests, by the way, have been given to quite a few students over the years in that college and they have an idea of how you might be able to handle the work in that college from how you do on those tests.

S. Uh huh.

C. Scores . . . uh . . . (pause) . . . like this would be the kind of scores . . . that persons make who have difficulty in making a satisfactory record . . . in that college. (long pause) (Client sighs toward the end of pause.)

S. The answer, I mean, I always did have a hard time and it was through my high school and . . .

C. Uh huh. Do you find that you have that same sort of trouble in your college chemistry?

S. Yes, I think I do.

C. Uh huh. It's the same thing there . . .

S. Uh huh. (long pause) Uh . . . do you think that's because of the background . . . that I didn't have too uh . . . good a background in those subjects?

C. Well, yes. Either that or you didn't master it well . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. There are those two possibilities. (pause) You know there are all kinds of abilities and academic ability is just one kind of ability. It might be that you don't stand too well in that kind of ability. It may be that there are others for you. What sort of things do you think that you can do well?

S. You mean in subjects?

C. Or anything.

S. (Pause) Well, I don't know. (pause) I don't believe I understand what you mean.

C. That's a kind of hard question to answer. (pause) What I mean is are there things that you like to do better than school work or that you feel that you do better than school work?

S. Well, I mean there isn't much else . . . I mean, there's . . . I've lived on the farm all the time . . .

C. Uh huh. Do you like that kind of work?

S. Oh, yes . . . (pause) that's about the only work I ever did . . . I mean, it's . . . in fact, I know I like that . . .

C. Uh huh. What did you do?

S. Oh . . . just general farm work uh . . . all around the farm.

C. Like any of it better than any other part?

S. Oh, the machinery part I like better . . . tractors . . .

C. Did a lot of work on tractors?

S. Oh, yes, I have . . . (long pause)

C. That's an example of a kind of ability that's different from school work ability . . . mechanical skill . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. Working with machines and understanding them . . . it seems to be a very different kind of ability from academic or scholastic or college ability, we might say. (pause) Have you ever considered going into some kind of work that involves that sort of skill?

S. Well, like uh . . . certain mechanical work?

C. Uh huh.

S. I was . . . I uh . . . I haven't thought much about that but . . . like going to Dunwoody and taking up some mechanical courses . . . a person could do that . . .

C. You haven't considered it for yourself?

S. No, I haven't . . . like . . . I mean, I haven't written in there and asked for their bulletin or anything . . .

C. Uh huh. We have some tests here for that purpose too, tests that would give you a little better idea, maybe, of where you stand in that kind of aptitude or skill. They would be different from this kind of test that you've taken before. (pause) It might possibly be that you would like to do something on that order just to see where you stand and explore alternatives . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. To the course that you're in now . . . (pause)

S. I could do that . . . I might find this course I'm taking now . . . it's too hard . . . (laughs)

C. You're beginning to think that . . . that it may be too rough for you . . .

S. Yeah . . . I think so . . . (pause) I think I'll uh . . . transfer to something else . . . after the spring quarter is over . . .

C. What is your official status with the college now?

S. You mean my . . . honor point ratio? That's a .58 and I haven't raised it any . . .

C. Does that mean that you're on probation?

S. Yes, uh huh. (long pause)

C. Have you talked over any other possibilities with Mr. Peterson or anybody?

S. No, I haven't . . . no, I just saw him that one day and he said I should have an appointment up here. (pause)

C. Well, what we sometimes do is, as I said, start out with kind of test and then by talking with you about what alternatives look possible to you, then sometimes we can reach an answer on the thing as to what possibility would be best. (pause) You said that you had started thinking about transferring to something else . . . what things have you considered?

S. Well, uh . . . either . . . go to Dunwoody or else . . . uh . . . I've . . . talked to one of the students . . . his . . . his roommate . . . he took up mortuary science and I . . . I just had those two things in mind . . .

C. You haven't considered anything else or have you narrowed it down to these two things?

S. Well, uh . . . no, I just considered . . . I think those two . . .

C. Those are the only ones you've been thinking about at all. Do you have very much information about . . .

S. No, I haven't.

C. Those possibilities?

S. Not at the present, no.

C. Well, we have information about Dunwoody . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. In our files. We can give you a little idea of the courses that are available there, and I think that we would suggest going and seeing the place and maybe talking . . .

S. Yes . . .

C. With them, in addition to looking over the bulletin. (pause)

S. Now this . . . mortuary science uh . . . that's a . . . just two years, isn't it?

C. It's a year in the General College . . .

S. General College and a year up here . . .

C. And then the mortuary science course in extension. Have you seen the bulletin on that?

S. No, I haven't uh . . . do you have it?

C. Yes. The General College bulletin gives the pre-mortuary science course.

S. Uh huh.

C. And then the mortuary science is written up in the Extension bulletin . . . (pause) Maybe we can look at them next time . . . I . . . don't *locate* them right now . . .

S. Yes . . . uh huh.

C. And if you would like, you could get them for yourself over at the Administration Building. Do you know where it is on this campus?

S. Yes, it's over there by the . . .

C. Ask at the information booth which is in the middle of the lobby.

S. Uh huh.

C. And you can get the bulletin that you wish there. You'd want the one for the General College . . .

S. Yes.

C. And the one for Extension. You may ask for others, too, by the time we get through talking.

S. Well, is that . . . that . . . mortuary science, is that . . . is it as difficult as . . . most of the other subjects?

C. You mean as in any other courses?

S. Yes.

C. At the University?

S. Uh huh.

C. Well, that's a problem that's kind of hard to say yes or no to, because it depends on you.

S. Uh huh.

C. The general idea is that it is not as difficult because it is not as long . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. A course. (pause) But it would depend on you as to whether it would be difficult for you or not.

S. I mean . . . that Central College . . . this one . . . uh . . . fellow . . . his roommate . . . he went to a teachers' college for a year and took up General College and then he transferred back up here. I guess he said he's finding it . . . it isn't too difficult for him . . . yet, we're two different people again . . .

C. And different courses.

S. Uh huh. (pause)

C. Well, what would you like to do? Would you be interested in seeing what material we have on Dunwoody?

S. Yes, I would.

C. And would you like to maybe take one or two tests, and come back and talk about them later?

S. I think that's fine . . . yes . . .

C. I'll show you the ones that I have in mind . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. They might be things like dexterity tests giving you an idea of how able you are using your hands, and mechanical comprehension . . . that kind . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. Of thing. Then perhaps an over-all interest test, and perhaps an over-all ability test. (long pause)

S. I think I'd like that choice . . .

C. You think you'd like to do that?

S. Uh huh, I think so.

C. O.K. Then I'll check the card for those that we've been talking about.

S. Uh huh.

C. I wonder, would you be interested in a reading test? And maybe a study habits inventory while we're . . .

S. Sure.

C. Doing it? I'm sure that this reading test is different from the one you take over there . . . (pause) Are you classed as a freshman still?

S. Yes, uh huh . . .

C. Then we'll put freshman on the card so you'll be compared to freshmen.

S. Uh huh.

C. Some of these are long and others are short . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. I can give you an idea of how long it will take you in all and then we can arrange when you might be able to come back.

S. Uh huh.

C. It will probably be about uh . . . (pause) . . . 6 hours or so of testing in all and our testing room is open all the time between 8 and 12 and 1 and 5, Monday through Friday. One or two of them will require appointments but most of them won't require any appointment and means you can come then just at your own convenience between those hours I mentioned.

S. Uh huh.

C. Do you think maybe that you'll have time to come over a couple of times within the next week or so?

S. Oh, yes.

C. Uh huh.

S. In the afternoons from 1 on . . .

C. Uh huh, then maybe we could see each other about . . . uh . . . this same time next week or a week from now.

S. Uh huh.

C. Let's fill them out too then . . . (referring to card and asking spelling of name)

S. That's right.

C. Do you have a middle name?

S. Arlington.

C. And what is your home address?

S. Miles City, Minnesota.

C. How do you spell that?

S. (Spells)

C. You're not a veteran, are you?

S. No, I'm not.

C. And how old are you?

S. Nineteen.

C. And you graduated from high school . . .

S. Yes.

C. In?

S. 1947.

C. Darby High School?

S. Yes.

C. Miles City, Minnesota?

S. Uh huh. (pause)

C. O.K. This card is put at the entrance to the testing room and it authorizes you to take the tests. When you come in, you ask for your card at the entrance to the testing room. I'll show you where it is as we go out.

S. Uh huh.

C. I wonder if you would like to look at the material that I mentioned on Dunwoody this afternoon . . . do you have time now?

S. Oh, yes, I still have time.

C. When do you have a class?

S. I have a dental appointment at 4.

C. At 4?

S. Uh huh.

C. Well, we'll go out and arrange for the next appointment and then I'll show you where that information is.

S. Uh huh.

C. Do you think there's anything else that we should talk over right now or does that kind of cover it for the moment?

S. I think that covers most of it . . . I can't think of any more . . .

C. Uh huh.

Summary of Interviews

Name   Brandon, Carl A.   Case Number 16284

College Agriculture, Forestry and Home Economics

Date 4/18/48

Summary:

(Counselor's dictated notes)

This was a very brief contact as Carl has not had a chance to take any of the tests. He said, however, that he was getting interested in the surveying courses down at Dunwoody and I gave him two names there of people that he might see directly, Mr. Carlson and Mr. Michaels. That was about all we discussed and he decided to go immediately to the testing room to start on some of his tests. Then we arranged an appointment for the future.

(Actual transcription of the above interview)

C. I think I'll shut the window, if it's all right with you. It's kind of chilly.

S. That's all right. (pause)

C. Well, do we have anything to talk about today?

S. Well, I don't know, I just . . . uh . . . you said *something about those* tests . . . I was supposed to take those tests.

C. Uh huh. *You didn't have a chance to do those . . .*

S. No, I haven't had a chance to . . .

C. Uh huh. Well, maybe we made the appointment a little too preliminarily, did we?

S. Well, I think so.

C. You haven't had a chance to take any one of them yet?

S. No, I haven't.

C. Uh huh. Do you have anything you'd like to talk about today? Have you gotten any ideas . . .

S. Well . . .

C. Since we talked the last time?

S. Uh . . . I looked over Dunwoody . . . and . . .

C. Uh huh.

S. I don't know . . . that surveying may be all right. I may try to get into that.

C. Uh huh. That looked kind of good to you?

S. Uh huh. *I think so.*

C. Have you been down there or did you just look over . . .

S. No.

C. You're talking about the things . . .

S. I just looked through . . .

C. I was showing you . . .

S. Yes . . . uh huh.

C. Uh huh.

S. I'm planning to go down there as soon as possible . . .

C. Uh huh.

S. And talk to them down there.

C. Do you know anybody to ask for down there?

S. No, I don't.

C. Well, there are several people that you might ask for if you want a name. Sometimes it makes it a little easier to . . .

S. Uh huh.

C. Say, I want to talk to so and so. A Mr. Carlson is the one that most of us know the best.

S. Uh huh.

C. He's been out here to tell us about Dunwoody and so on. He's one of the assistant directors.

S. I see.

C. Part of his job is to just see people who are interested in finding out what the school is about.

S. Uh huh.

C. So you might ask for him, if you like, or there's a Mr. Michaels who also does the same thing.

S. Uh huh.

C. You may ask for him. What you're going to do is to get more of an idea of what it is, isn't that right?

S. Yes, uh huh. (pause) And . . . uh . . . these tests . . . do I come in any time?

C. Uh huh. Any time between 8 and 12 and 1 and 5. Monday through Friday.

S. And what I'll do is just . . . walk in the testing room then . . .

C. Uh huh, and this card is placed in the file there at the entrance to the testing room.

S. Uh huh.

C. So that all you'd have to do is go ask for your card and they give you the tests we've checked.

S. Oh, I see.

C. When do you think you might be able to do that? Do you have any time in the near future?

S. I'd suppose I could do one today.

C. Uh huh.

S. This afternoon.

C. Uh huh. (pause) You've got quite a few . . . shall we hold off and make the appointment to look at the test results about two weeks from now? Do

you think that'll give you enough time? Or we could make it later than that . . .

S. Oh, I think that'll be all right.

C. Two weeks from today, you think, maybe?

S. Uh huh.

C. O.K. We might put it on the book that way because we get so jammed up . . .

S. Yes.

C. That way you'll know that we have an appointment.

S. Uh huh. (pause)

S. Then I just come in any time I . . . just to finish them all . . . before . . .

C. Uh huh.

S. Two weeks from today.

C. Uh huh. And if you can't finish all but one, that'll be O.K.

S. Oh, yes, uh huh.

C. You can get a good bunch of them done by then, don't you think?

S. Oh, I think so.

C. Uh huh. Would you like to start right now . . .

S. Yes, I could . . .

C. And let this be the end of our interview for today, or do you have something else you'd like to . . .

S. No, I haven't.

C. O.K. Maybe by the time you come in again you will have had a chance to talk to the people down at Dunwoody . . .

S. Uh huh. I'll try . . . yes.

C. We can talk about that at the same time.

S. Uh huh. Shall I just go in there and start the tests?

C. Yes, I'll go down there with you.

S. O.K.

Summary of Interviews

Name Brandon, Carl A.   Case Number 16284

College Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics

Date 5/13/48

Summary:

Failed to keep appointment May 2, 1948.

I. *Client's statement of his problem.* Mr. Brandon was in to see his test results.

II. *Clinical data.* In going over the test, particularly as the result of the discussion of the Strong Vocational Interest Test and some of the material on the Individual Record Form, Carl stated that he has come to the conclusion that he will check into the training at Dunwoody in the next few weeks. He is still considering Industrial Education as one other alternative. He has some doubts on that still, however, and thinks he might best be suited for something like the air conditioning and refrigeration course at Dunwoody or perhaps the surveying course. He seemed to gain a good deal of reassurance from the way

all the test results came out and stated that he felt he had learned a good deal which was helpful about himself through the testing and discussion here.

III. *Clinical synthesis of problem.* Vocational indecision appears to be lessening through the client's understanding better his standing in the course he has attempted.

IV. *Diagnosis.* Still lack of information. I mean by this not so much lack of self-information but lack of curricula information which I believe he will be getting on his own.

V. *Counseling techniques and their effectiveness.* Techniques used were mainly questioning, test interpretation, information giving and reflection. Rapport seemed to be good and, as I stated earlier, the boy stated his satisfaction with the outcome of the counseling.

VI. *Prognosis.* Good for mechanical training.

VII. *Follow-up.* None indicated at present.

Example from Rogers

In the following material taken from Rogers' *Counseling and Psychotherapy*[35] portions of the phonographically recorded interviews are summarized. The book contains a number of interviews reproduced in full as well as the complete account, phonographically recorded, of the counseling carried out with one case. The following material was selected, however, instead of an interview given in full, because it deals with a case similar to the one in the example from Williamson and is representative of many cases dealt with by high-school and college counselors. The excerpts from the transcriptions are sufficiently long to illustrate the interview procedures. Rogers presents the case as follows:

Arthur is a college student of twenty, in his third year of college. He is sent to a counselor for help as part of the procedure in the study-habits course which has been previously mentioned. In his first interview he makes it plain that he has a serious problem of unsolved vocational choice ahead of him, but that the problem he is really concerned about is that of raising his grades. At one point in the interview he sums up what he wants to accomplish in the interviews, saying, "That's my job. To decide what I want to do is one thing, and to get better grades—that's one *sure* thing." In the second and third interviews he continues to keep the contacts centered around the more superficial problem of grades, and in the fourth interview he frankly states that he is afraid of the more comprehensive problem of vocational choice. A recorded excerpt will illustrate this. Arthur talks about how important attitudes are—if you think you are going to flunk, you will grow to dislike a subject, and vice versa. The conversation continues:

C. Sometimes you feel that way about your courses, and sometimes you don't.
S. Yeah, that's right. Sometimes it looks like everything is against you and other times everything is pulling for you, but I like all of my studies this quarter, so that should be in my behalf or something.

____
* Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–60.

C. Perhaps that makes it a little easier to put off the problems you'll meet at the end of the quarter.

S. Yeah. I believe it would. *(Pause and laugh.)* At the end of the quarter I'm going to have the problem of what to take next quarter and all that.

C. You don't like to think about that, though, do you?

S. No, boy! *(Laugh.)* I don't like to think about that until I come to it. Oh, I've been thinking, when I had some free time, trying to figure out what to take next quarter and all that, but oh, I don't know, it's a kind of material you want to put off.

C. You want to put it off if you can?

S. That's right.

C. That's one of the things that—

S. You shouldn't do, I know.

C. No; well, you feel that people would disapprove of it. That's one of the reasons why you feel two ways about coming in for an appointment like this, because here there's always a risk you might get to thinking about some of those problems that you'd rather put off.

S. Well, that might be, I doubt it.

C. It is a lot more comfortable to put them off, isn't it?

S. Yeah, that's right. But people—(pause) and it would be better for you if you wouldn't put them off, that's one sure thing.

C. But it takes a lot of courage sometimes, to really think them through ahead of time. *(Very long pause.)*

S. About this question of studying, do you think—ah, what do you think is the best way to study for a midterm? Do you think you ought to make an outline of the material you've had and then go through that outline and the parts you don't know, or . . . *(He continues in this vein.)*

This is not an unusual situation, but it is unusual for the client to make such a frank statement of his attitude. He suffers to some degree from conflicts involved in vocational choice. He even knows that pressures are approaching which will make some solution necessary. Yet until the whole conflict is heightened by social demands, he cannot face it in the counseling situation. When the counselor helps him to recognize clearly that he is evading this vocational problem, there is a long pause, in which undoubtedly he is making his decision. What that decision is he makes very evident in his next remark in which he changes the subject, completely avoids any future vocational issue, and concentrates during the remainder of the interview on the details of obtaining better grades.

Several excerpts from the following interview indicate how pressures operate to reopen the question and make him at least partially accessible to counseling help on his problem. He opens the interview by telling of some favorable results on quizzes.

C. You feel that things are going pretty well.

S. M-hm. And yesterday morning I went over and saw Miss G. in the Dean's office and I got my schedule for next quarter and she wants me to take

another quarter in fine arts and then she thought sociology would be good for me and appreciation of literature. I didn't know what to take, and I thought that I would go over and ask her. She told me that any time I was in doubt to come over and see her, so—that is what she advised.

This statement is eloquent, indeed. Arthur seems to have dodged his conflict completely. He makes it plain that he is doing what he is told, taking no responsibility for the decision himself. He also makes it plain that if the present counselor will not solve his problems for him, he can find counselors who will. He goes on to describe in some detail the courses he will take, mentioning that he wondered about taking a mathematics course.

S. I know it would have helped me in physics, but since I've had both quarters of that and they're both over, why, I don't see that it would be any benefit.

C. So that you're doing quite a lot of thinking about your course yourself as well as getting advice from others, aren't you?

S. M-hm. I don't know, I told you, I think last week, that I was all in a muddle about this *what to take next quarter*, but I think I'll take fine arts because he said I'm showing so much improvement in my work, and I like it, and I think it teaches you detail, it teaches you to express yourself, it teaches you to use your hands, and—I don't know, I think it will help me a lot.

C. That interests me because now you are saying that *you* think you should take fine arts, and that to me means something, where the fact that Miss G. or somebody else thinks you should take fine arts—well, that's interesting, it's worth getting, but I think the real decision is yours.

S. Sure. I know I want to take that because I—well, I like it and I'm getting along all right in this first course in it.

Here the client gives some indication that he is, in some slight degree, taking the responsible choice into his own hands. After some further discussion of the pros and cons of the courses selected, he tells how the conflict was definitely brought to a head by the demands of his college situation.

C. It interests me that last week you felt you were going to put off those questions just as long as you could, but this week you—

S. Oh, I got inspiration this week. (*Laugh.*) I thought—I saw some kids with their schedule cards and they were freshmen, I guess—

C. You saw what?

S. I saw some kids with their schedule cards—

C. Oh, yeah.

S. —and I guess they were freshmen, and I said, "Hey, when are those schedule cards due?" They said, "Oh, you have to have them in by Friday," so I thought, "Well, Arthur M., you get to work." (*Both laugh.*) So I went over and saw Miss G. right away.

He goes on to discuss further the question of whether he has selected the right courses, showing both sides of his ambivalent attitude toward making up his own mind. The interview continues:

C. Do I gather that your schedule for next quarter is now pretty well set?

S. M-hm. Yeah. If I get the chance, I'm going home and work out the time schedule so I'll have my time and classes and everything and then I'll forget all about my schedule until it comes up *(laugh)* next quarter. I was kind of relieved—

C. You don't like to think of it even after you get it made up, hm?

S. It isn't that. I'm just going to forget it and start working on something else. It's kind of a relief to have the thing made up. I saw a lot of boys sitting over there. They had a book, and they had pencils, and they were scratching their heads *(laugh)* and they would write something out and then they would scratch it—*(laugh)*—oh gosh!

C. This whole business of deciding what direction we are taking and what we are going to do and all is a pretty tough job, isn't it?

S. That's right. *(Pause.)* I still wish I knew definitely what I intend to do. I mean what vocation to follow.

C. You've been doing some thinking about that too, have you?

S. I have, m-hm, but I still don't know which way to go.

C. Do you want to tell me a little of what you have been thinking about along that line?

S. Oh, I don't know—my uncle from the very first, he said I should go into music and he's been arguing that every time he sees me—he asks me why I don't get into music, and oh, what I had in mind at first was optometry, and—then I thought optometry. And I talked to several boys down home that are taking osteopathy and they said that would be a wonderful field to go into, so—but right now my three main things are music, osteopathy, and optometry. I mean, that's the three I'm working on.

From this point on Arthur began to explore his vocational problem and to work on it constructively. After several more contacts, he arrived at a satisfactory course of action, choosing a primary goal for himself, but also setting his plans with certain alternatives in mind, in case he failed to reach his first choice.

Although the excerpts from these interviews illustrate several principles of counseling, the point to be observed here is that effective counseling in regard to vocational choice became possible only when the pressure of circumstance became so strong that the discomfort of facing the problem was more than outweighed by the discomfort of not facing it. Although Arthur evaded the immediate issue by placing the responsibility almost entirely on Miss G.'s shoulders, nevertheless the conflict was heightened to a point where he determined to seek help in making his own decision on the basic question of vocational choice.

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Some Techniques in Environmental Treatment and Group Work

The analytical, diagnostic, and counseling techniques are important tools in high-school and college student personnel work. There are other important procedures for helping students to make good adjustments that have not yet been considered or have only been touched upon lightly. Some of these, in particular the ones related to environmental treatment and group work, are given general consideration in this chapter. Others, such as the ones used in providing students camp experience, placement service, and exploratory experiences through visits to places of industry, career conferences, and the like, are not considered at all, not because they are relatively unimportant, but because the limitations of space do not permit discussion here of all the important guidance techniques. The tools of the student personnel worker are too many for all to fit into one kit.

MANIPULATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

In some cases changing the student from one environment to another or improving his present environment by altering its physical, social, or psychological characteristics can contribute to good personal development as well as correct or prevent maladjustment.

Changing the Home Environment

Change in Place of Residence. Because a student's home situation is having an adverse effect upon his development or is depriving him of important opportunities necessary for good development, the transplanting of a student from one residence situation to another is desirable at times. Providing this type of environmental treatment is, however, usually the function of social workers and nonschool agencies. Nevertheless, school people are sometimes directly or indirectly involved in its provision. The teachers are not few, for example, who have made a place in their own homes for students who need homes or a change in homes.

Also, many high-school and college students through the assistance of some interested school person or persons have moved into boarding homes so that they may have an opportunity to complete their educational programs or to live fuller or more normal and happy lives than living in their own homes makes possible.

At times arrangements are made for a student to live in a boarding home (where he works for room and board usually) during the school days and at his own home during the week ends. Because of the location of his home or for some other reason, living full time in his own home does not permit him to participate sufficiently in student and community life or prevents his taking advantage of certain opportunities important or even essential to achievement of his educational and vocational plans. In such cases the parents usually cooperate to make the two-home arrangement a successful one. They appreciate the advantages of the arrangement, want to do what seems best for their children, take pride in their children's ambition and achievements, and share their hopes for the future.

In some other cases the boarding home arrangement is considered desirable because the students are not happy at home, the parents do not share their interest in further education, and may even want them to quit school and go to work as soon as they are legally free to do so. The parents may be unwilling to help their children continue in school by helping them to meet the cost of clothes and supplies not provided by the state. They are willing for their children to live elsewhere because they think that they should earn their room and board, that it is a good experience for young people. They may wish their children to return home for the week ends because they want them to help at home, on the farm, or in some other work situation as well as because they are genuinely fond of their sons and daughters and want them at home part of the time. These parents do not reject their children, only their children's plans. They may reject the plans primarily because of their own experiences as young people.

Then there are the extreme cases—the students who are rejected, exploited, and even abused by their parents and the students whose homes are sources of psychological contagion. Helping these students through environmental treatment is generally the work of social-service agencies and the courts, but school people are often instrumental in initiating such treatment as well as in helping to make it effective.

Environmental treatment is employed in residence schools, secondary or college, when arrangements are made for a student to move from one residence hall to another, from one part of a residence hall to another part, from one room to another room in the same part of the hall, from his home or from a boarding home to a residence hall, or vice versa.

Sometimes a change in roommates is all that is required in order to provide the change needed in the residence environment.

Moving a student from one residence environment to another is of limited value and may even have a negative effect if the boy or girl involved is not interested in having such a change made and actually opposes it. To be of the greatest value, the change must be one that the student accepts and is willing to have made, one that he wants strongly enough to be willing to try to adjust to the new situation and try to make good use of its advantages.

Work with Parents or Parent Surrogates. When a student's development is being adversely affected or is not being aided sufficiently by the home situation and largely because of a lack of understanding on the part of parents rather than because of any lack of affection for their son or daughter or any unwillingness to fulfill their functions as parents, efforts should be directed toward helping to improve or correct the home situation rather than toward taking the student out of the home. Home visits, meetings, study groups, and conferences with parents at home and at school are a few of the means commonly employed by schools for achieving this objective.

Home visits. The changes needed are often changes in time schedules or other changes in home routine rather than changes in attitudes, and the changes needed are often easily brought about. Home visits are most likely to be effective when made by a professionally trained visiting teacher. Not all schools, however, have visiting-teacher service; and so the visits must often be made by other school workers. Unless the visitor is able to establish rapport with the parent or parents early in the visit, little in the way of understanding can be gained on either side. One important step in establishing rapport is to let the parents know in advance the day and the approximate hour of the visit. If this is not done, good working relations with the parents may never be possible.

If, for example, the school visitor is a woman who arrives at the student's home unexpectedly, neatly and even attractively dressed, looking her best and appearing fully at ease, and if the mother comes to the door looking her worst because interrupted while doing the laundry, cleaning the kitchen, or doing some other housework that leaves her hot, tired, and dirty, the mother will be very ill at ease and, like the other members of the family who are present at the time, may be embarrassed and ashamed because of her appearance. In the case of this family good home-school communication may be hindered, not helped, by the home visit. Home visits should be made by appointment and in some cases not made at all. If a parent or a student is reluctant for the school worker to call at the home, it is better to substitute a conference at school for the visit to the home.

Interviews. The same principles that govern interviews with students should govern interviews with parents. If they do, the parent will do most of the talking. By displaying a friendly, interested, responsive attitude and by listening attentively the school worker makes it easy for the parent to talk about the situation so that the parent may understand his own role in it and see what he can do to correct or improve the situation for himself (or herself) as well as for the son or daughter.

Meetings. One of the most used and often least useful techniques for parent education is the large group meeting at which parents hear a talk by some school worker or visiting expert. Large group meetings have a better chance at being effective when parents play a more active role than that of listener, when the meetings are conducted in a way that permits and encourages communication between members of the audience and communication from individuals in the audience to individuals on the stage rather than communication mainly or only from the persons on the stage to the audience as a whole.

Taking a census of topics that the parents want discussed and making some of these the subject for the meeting, using role playing for getting good discussions started, using some of the group discussion methods and other procedures developed especially for adult education work[1] help to increase the usefulness of the large group meetings. When films are used to vitalize the meetings, it is generally better to have them followed by informal group discussions in which parents are the chief participants rather than by explanations and interpretations offered by some teacher or consultant. The use of the consultant is not undesirable, but the consultant should be there to stimulate and aid group discussion rather than to lecture. He aids discussion by giving facts when facts are asked for; he should not prevent or slow up group thinking by giving so much information that he forces the group members into the roles of full-time listeners.

Changing the School Environment

Change in Schools. Treatment of the academic misfit or some other case of maladjustment may be aided by a change in schools. If the change involves taking the student away from his best friends and the change is made against his will, the results of the change may be more negative than positive. If the move is made to get him away from the detrimental influence of certain companions or away from other harmful forces that the student seems unable to combat, the move may be effective if combined with counseling and if a special effort is made to help him find a secure place in the new school as soon as possible. If the change is made

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[1] L. P. Bradford, "Leading the Large Meeting," *Adult Education Bulletin,* 14:38–50, December, 1949; L. P. Bradford and S. M. Corey, "Improving Large Group Meetings," *Adult Education,* 16:1–17, April, 1951.

because the new school offers the student a more appropriate curriculum or can provide him certain needed experiences that are not available in his present school and if the student understands the reason for the transfer, accepts it, and is willing to make the change, the move may have high value.

Change in Teachers. Some school workers believe that a student should never be permitted to change from one teacher to another, that he should be forced to get along with the ones to whom assigned. It is true that some students think of the guidance worker as someone who makes life easy for students by helping them to get out of trouble, to get around rules, and to avoid meeting disagreeable requirements. It is also true that some teachers do not really try to work with "difficult cases" and often ask that such students be taken out of their classes and put in the classes of other teachers who are willing to work with such students and who probably already have more than their fair share of "difficult cases." Also, there is the teacher who opposes the removal of a student from his class even though it is clear that his way of dealing with the student is bringing out the worst rather than the best in him. Guidance workers should try to help such students and such teachers to make better adjustments to the situations. At times, however, the workers find a change in teachers desirable for the sake of the student or the teacher or both.

Furthermore, as is brought out in the passage from Moreno quoted in the opening chapter of this book, a student may be a problem to one teacher but not to another. It may be that the combination of a particular teacher and a particular student is that which is wrong rather than the teacher or the student. The situation for the teacher may be very much like the one which Moreno[2] describes for the housemother.

The effort the latter has to make to reach the child is out of proportion to what she has available for her. And if two or three such individuals are assigned to the housemother, problems to her but easily reachable to others, she becomes, if she takes her duty seriously, more exhausted through dealing with them than through efforts made for a dozen other children. Eventually she becomes indifferent and she tries to mask her undoing.

It is not likely that we shall ever have the Utopian situation in which all teachers understand and accept all students. When assignments prove definitely faulty, we must recognize this fact and arrange a change in teachers in spite of the criticisms that may be expressed because of our doing so.

In most schools there is at least one teacher who seems able to understand all boys and girls and able to bring out the best in the worst of

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[2] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* rev. ed., p. 288. New York: Beacon House, 1953.

them. In his homeroom and classes "problem students" seem able to relax and willing to try to work. Often such a teacher is willing to assume special responsibility for the instruction and guidance of difficult cases because he is genuinely interested in trying to help them. *To change a student who is making a poor adjustment in school to the homeroom or class of such a teacher can be an important step in the treatment of the case.* Sometimes the favorable changes that result in the student's school work and behavior help to bring about changes in the attitudes of some other teachers toward difficult cases and in their methods of dealing with them and enable them thereafter to work successfully with the difficult cases assigned to their classes. If not, then difficult cases should not be assigned to such teachers even though others may say that not to do so is only to make life easy for the ones "who don't try."

Change in Program of Studies. Many students cease to be academic misfits or behavior problems when they change to programs of studies that are appropriate for students of their patterns of interests and abilities. A student may be following a program that is inappropriate because the work is too difficult for one of his ability or because he does not have the needed background in the way of information and skills or because the work is too easy and does not provide him sufficient challenge or because he has little interest in learning the things he is asked to learn. In short, the student cannot do the work or he finds it uninteresting because too easy or because he "can't see any good in it."

Taking a slow learner out of an academic subject class and giving him another period of shop work or her another period of home economics is not the way to provide an appropriate curriculum for slow learners. These students need to study English, civics, science, and mathematics also. Emphasis in such classes for slow learners should be, however, upon practical learning rather than theoretical knowledge and upon experiences closely related to home life, civic activities, interpersonal relations, free-time activities, and job objectives. If the teachers cannot or will not provide individualized instruction in their classes so that slow learners and students deficient in the basic skills are not pressed to move more rapidly than they are able, then practical courses in the major subject areas should be provided in addition to the courses regularly offered.

The organization of special classes is probably one of the most commonly used methods for meeting the special needs of superior students. In some schools "major work classes" are formed in which these students explore course areas more fully than the other students but do not move ahead to do the work of the next higher courses. The needs of the superior students, however, can also be met through individualized instruction in regular class groups. The range of class activities can be extended to include activities that interest the bright students and stimulate them to

achieve to capacity. Many teachers succeed in interesting such students in carrying out independent projects of interest to all members of the class yet too difficult for most members but ones that the others are interested in hearing the superior student explain. When a number of superior students work together on such projects, they help each other to put their high aptitudes to work and to develop their capacities for organization and creative work.

Work experience programs help to meet the needs of both low-interest and low-ability students. Such programs help to hold many students in school, especially students in the lower high-school grades who might otherwise leave school because of failure in school work, desire or need to earn money, or for some similar reason. Some of the values that the combination of school and work has for many students are summarized in this passage from Dilloo:[1]

> The educational value of this type of work experience is not confined solely to actual skills acquired on the job but also includes the experience of accepting responsibility, of working with adults and, for some, of replacing a sense of failure with a sense of achievement and success. In many cases, the school-work program provides the concrete situation in which the student can work out his social adjustment and prepares him to handle his problems more intelligently when he leaves school than does the usual school curriculum. Such programs offer a possibility of prolonging the period of education and, at the same time, of developing greater mental or social maturity where this is needed for the adjustment of the individual.

Improving the Social Climate in the School

In the Classroom. The social climate of the classroom is more conducive to good personal development when it is more the climate of a democracy than of an autocracy. In the authoritarian class situation the teacher determines the objectives, policies, and activities with little or no assistance from the students. He decides what material will be covered, when, and how and keeps the students more or less in a fog regarding future activities. One at a time he makes known the stages or steps in the class work and the procedures and activities of each. As a result, it is difficult for the students to gain perspective with regard to either activity or time.

In the democratic situation the teacher encourages the class members to participate in free discussions of objectives, policies, and procedures. The students soon know the common goals and the general course and procedures to be followed in reaching them. This knowledge helps them to gain both time and activity perspective and also makes it possible for

[1] Harold J. Dillon, *Work Experience in Secondary Education*, p. 89. New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1946.

them to take into account their individual goals. This is most likely to be true when the regular procedures include sociometric groupings and objective evaluation of class progress by the group. The group, of course, includes the teacher.

Surely we have experimented long enough with "progressive education" and "modern methods" and "permissiveness" for the differences between the democratic and the laissez-faire situations to be well known and for the second situation no longer to be considered an acceptable substitute for the first. The procedures for establishing a democratic climate in the classroom do not include either the teacher's allowing the class complete freedom and full rights of decision with little or no participation on the part of the teacher or the teacher's supplying the class with needed material and then letting the students go ahead on their own without definite direction, assistance, or supervision from him. Idleness, horse-play, confusion, frustration, and discouragement are, as the experiments of Lippitt[4] and others have shown, the chief products of classes that lie in the laissez-faire zone.

In the School at Large. Anything that improves the social climate of the classroom also improves, of course, the social climate in the school as a whole. All that is said above regarding the development of a democratic atmosphere in the class situation applies to the total school situation.

School workers help to build a good emotional climate in their schools when they help students to learn to respect and enjoy different kinds of people and to accept individuals by virtue of their particular contributions rather than because of socioeconomic status, academic achievement, personal appearance, or the like. *They do this through their own warm, friendly acceptance of different kinds of students and by encouraging a free give and take between student and student and between students and faculty.*

In many schools student government does not provide sufficient help in creating a democratic atmosphere because the students are not permitted to deal with matters of vital importance or to have any real authority. The students may go along with the faculty in making believe that they have student government, but few of them have any illusions on the subject. At times teachers exercise too much control over student life because of their desire to have students select the "right leaders." Good student leaders are important to the morale of both faculty and students. Instead, however, of setting minimum requirements for officeholders in terms of grade-point averages, citizenship records, and the like or requiring that all nominations be approved by a faculty committee or doing other such things to control the selection of student leaders, the faculty

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[4] R. G. Barker *et al.*, *Child Behavior and Development*, Chap. 28. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1943.

should help students to develop relevant criteria for selection of leaders by helping the students to analyze the demands of specific jobs and offices and to appraise the nominees in terms of their abilities to meet the requirements of the particular offices for which they are nominated.

Student morale in some schools can be increased through improvement of the physical conditions in the schools by better provision for the basic services needed in keeping the grounds and buildings clean and attractive. This point applies in particular to the lavatories which too often are not only dirty but are also not adequately furnished with the essential supplies. Soap, for example, is never provided in some schools. The explanations that are often given for such conditions is that "students waste" and "students do not appreciate." The solution to the problem lies, of course, in educating students to appreciate and not to waste. This type of education is as important as training in the basic skills and may require considerable skill on the part of the instructors. Buildings with dirty windows, with halls and rooms only superficially cleaned, and surrounded by untidy grounds offer a poor setting for giving the type of education needed.

Providing students an opportunity to have hot lunches at a minimum cost and in an uncrowded place is another boost to student morale. Providing students sufficient time to go through the cafeteria line, select their food, and eat unhurriedly is also important. Providing students a place in which to socialize after eating and before returning to class is to many students even more important. Many problems in the way of undesirable behavior that occur on and off the school grounds during lunch periods arise because students have nothing to do after eating except to stand around and wait to be summoned back to classes. They would like to dance, to play games, and to watch others dance and play while they chat with their friends; but in many schools students do not have a place in which to do such things or the minimum equipment needed. Shortening the lunch period until students have barely enough time to eat is not the answer, however. Including a lunch-time recreation program in the student activity program is a better answer.

Orientation programs that include big-sister and big-brother work, tours of the new school, get-acquainted parties, and classes in which new students learn about the school offerings (curricular and cocurricular), traditions, regulations, study skills, and other such things are excellent. The orientation programs that rate highest with new students, however, are the ones that include early instruction in social dancing, in playing the games currently popular, and in doing other things that help them to acquire the skills needed for social participation.

Also, better than a social activity program that centers on a few special dances or big parties, which require a great deal of work and the wearing

of best clothes, is a program that includes weekly after-school dances or all-school parties and many informal dances and parties in the evening, in addition to the occasional big affair. When schools are places where students go for fun during their out-of-school hours, many will not seek their fun in some other places where there is too little supervision and where they may engage in activities that are harmful and actually dangerous. Much adult direction and supervision of student recreation is undesirable, but also undesirable is the absence of adults who stand ready to help by giving information and advice when requested and by suggesting or protesting when such is obviously needed.

GROUP WORK

Group work is provided in many forms in the schools. No attempt is made here to consider all types of group work. Some of the most common forms, such as assemblies, conferences, and committee work, are not included. Only a few general types are considered here and these in only a general way.

The Student Activity Program

The school atmosphere that is most conducive to good personal development is one that is warm, friendly, and free of rivalry, hostility, and tension. Unfortunately, the student activity program is at times a principal source of rivalry, frustration, and tension, whereas it should be a principal means for enriching group life and thereby helping to reduce tension. To fulfill its purposes, the program must be so planned and administered that opportunity for easy participation is afforded to students of low socioeconomic status, of low IQ's, and with little special talent as well as to students from the higher socioeconomic levels, of high IQ's, and well endowed with special talents.

Investigations continue to disclose an appalling degree of economic discrimination in extracurricular activities.[5] They reveal a definite relationship between a student's economic status and his chance at getting on the yearbook staff or her chance at becoming a majorette. Add to this the fact that many students find participation in student activities expensive, and it becomes clear why some find it difficult to use the student activity program as one means for gaining status and recognition.

[5] H. C. Hand, "Hidden Tuition Charges in Extra-class Activities," *Educational Forum*, 14:95–103, November, 1949.

M. MacDonald *et al.*, "Leisure Activities and the Socioeconomic Status of Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54:505–519, May, 1949.

J. F. R. Shannon and M. A. Kittle, "Analysis of 21 Groups in One School: Economic Discrimination in Extracurricular Activities," *The Clearing House*, 22:71–72, October, 1947.

The student activity program should be student-centered, not activity-centered. If the program is student-centered, it will be evaluated in terms of its effects upon individuals, not in terms of success in the activity—the program, the play, the game, the handicraft, or some other product of the activity. The quality of the product of the activity is important. It is important to group morale, but it is not of first importance. If the product or the activity itself is made more important than the participants or the interaction among participants, it is probably largely the faculty and not the students who make it so. That which is generally of first importance to the students is the enjoyment found in participation, the social relations made possible by the program, the satisfaction obtained through mutually enriching experiences, and the meanings gained through the activity experiences.

The student activity program takes on new meanings when it is expanded to include participation in community activities. An activity that has its beginning outside the school, such as the development or the renovation of a community center, the staging of a play or a pageant depicting the history of the community or region, the establishing of a museum of local history, or the like, may develop into a school and community activity. Or a school project may become a community affair. When the activity program itself becomes a part of a continuing school-community project, its values are multiplied greatly.

A good example of a cooperative school-community program is found in the LaFayette Center initiated by the LaFayette Junior High School of Los Angeles and developed cooperatively by the school staff, workers from a number of youth-service agencies, and the young people in the area. Against a background of urban deterioration and social disorganization this cooperative interagency program was begun in 1940.[*] In the beginning the LaFayette Center was a school canteen organized to provide wholesome recreation for the high-school students in the vicinity. Today it is a community center serving primarily the young people in the area from preschool age to adults but reaching also a large number of adults. It provides an intensive program of many kinds of activities for four main types of groups—mass activity groups (for folk dancing, community sings, etc.), special interest clubs, social clubs, and playground teams.

The Group Guidance Class

Group guidance is most frequently provided in the high schools through the homeroom or a class especially organized for group guidance purposes and called a class in orientation, social studies, personal management,

ment, freshman problems, senior problems, life adjustment, or the like. As stated earlier, the effectiveness of a group guidance class depends to a great degree upon the extent to which it is characterized by the give and take of dynamic interaction. This is most likely to be the case when objectives and plans are formulated by the students, procedures are flexible, participation is voluntary and spontaneous, the topics discussed are principally ones introduced by students, and the experiences and life situations of the students are considered.

The group guidance class should not be one in which students do little more than listen to a teacher tell them about their common needs and how to meet them and their common problems and how to deal with them. It is likely to be so, however, if the group is large and meets only once a week. If the class is reasonably small but is conducted in the traditional manner with a *single* textbook and examinations, the class may never acquire the flexibility, the spontaneity, and the free interplay of the desired group guidance situation. Students enrolled in a group guidance class conducted, as Rogers[7] recommends, in a nondirective manner have been found by others[8] to benefit more than do students enrolled in a similar class conducted in the traditional manner.

At times work with small groups is used to supplement work with large groups. This seems to be done more frequently in colleges than in secondary schools. In one college, for example, the freshmen meet in large "orientation classes" two days a week to hear lectures, see films, take tests, and do other like things. Three other days they meet in groups of from 10 to 20 members each for group discussions and for laboratory work in study methods.

The small group guidance class is even more effective when discussion methods are combined with both laboratory methods and counseling. At Ohio State University a course is offered entitled The Psychology of Effective Study and Individual Adjustment in which counseling and laboratory methods are combined with other procedures. Robinson[9] describes the class as a personnel service and includes the following in his account of it:

Each class of eighteen students meets daily for one hour under the supervision of an instructor. The laboratory contains a number of small tables, a library and work materials. Efficient test administration, discussion, explanation, and

[7] Carl R. Rogers, "Some Implications of Client-centered Counseling for College Personnel Work," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 8:544–545, Autumn, 1948.

[8] W. D. Sheldon and Theodore Landsman, "An Investigation of Nondirective Group Therapy with Students in Academic Difficulty," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 14:210–215, June, 1950.

[9] F. P. Robinson, *Principles and Procedures in Student Counseling*, p. 8. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

opportunity for work under observation are thus permitted. In order to individualize the work still further and to permit the discussion of personal problems, each student has a weekly conference with a counselor. . . . These conferences are held in small private rooms. . . .

Obviously, students gain more from this type of group guidance class than from one in which only lecture and discussion methods are used.

Group Therapy

The professional literature indicates a growing recognition of a psychology of group life and an increasing acceptance of Moreno's views that therapeutic procedures should not be considered as expedients or substitutes for individual therapy but as treatments in their own rights, yielding values not necessarily obtainable through individual therapy. There is also evidence of increased appreciation of the fact that group workers, like counselors, need to be qualified not only with regard to personal characteristics but also with regard to the specialized knowledge and skills gained through intensive training.

Through Recreation. Recreation as Solomon[10] says, may not be able to cure delinquency; but it can help to prevent it. A free-time activity program can help the predelinquent avoid developing the value system of the delinquent by providing him the status-gaining and ego-developing experiences that make it unnecessary for him to seek status in areas where adult restrictions are minimal and adult norms are ignored.

An activity program can do a better delinquency-prevention job when recreation is provided without cost or at a very low cost to the participants, when the program is on all-week and o year-round program, and when it is under the direction or supervision of superior leaders than when these conditions do not prevail. The LaFayette school-community recreation program, referred to above, meets these conditions. The recreation center is open every day from three in the afternoon until ten in the evening. It is open the year round and is under the direction of a well-qualified coordinator and competent assistants. Since the LaFayette program was started, conditions in the neighborhood have improved greatly. Vandalism and delinquency have decreased until they are now surprisingly low for an area such as the one in which the center and school are located—an industrial area and a port of entry for minority group members arriving in Los Angeles.

The school serves a highly transient population, for the student body turnover is from 80 to 90 per cent. The school faculty and the center workers try to make good use of their brief contacts with the many minority group members by helping them to make good adjustments in minority group members by helping them to make good adjustments in

[10] Ben Solomon, "Recreation and Delinquency," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 21:284–290, June, 1948.

their new situations. The center program is regularly evaluated to determine how well it is meeting the needs of two distinct groups—"the socially active or ready" and "the social beginners or explorers." These evaluations indicate that many young people, by participating in recreation activities with others of different ages, backgrounds, and culture patterns, are learning techniques of behavior and ways of thinking and feeling that are helping them to accept certain important values and standards and are thus preparing them for upward rather than downward mobility.

Through Sociodrama. Group guidance and core curriculum classes provide good settings for group therapy through sociodrama, which is one form of psychodrama. Psychodrama is a broad term that covers a number of procedures which are essentially a combination of the methods of discussion and drama and are used for the purposes of diagnosis, education, and therapy. Sociodrama is the form used primarily for the purpose of helping the members of a group to work out effective ways of dealing with normal problems in interpersonal relations.

In general, the procedures used in sociodrama are as follows: The group selects a conflict situation from the various ones proposed by its members and then defines and clarifies the problem through group discussion. The situation is dramatized by members who volunteer to play the roles of the persons involved. The students know that the situation while lifelike is a make-believe one, that they are not playing their roles for keeps and so are free to explore the situation as freely as they wish without fear of punishment through failure. The other students, as they follow the dramatization, think of how they usually behave in such situations and consider the effects of the words and actions of the different role players upon one another.

After the situation has been dramatized, the group discusses it. The actors tell how they felt while enacting the situation and how they reacted to one another's behavior. Both role players and spectators raise questions regarding other ways of dealing with the situation and their possible effectiveness. Then the understandings gained through the enactment and the discussion are tested through a second enactment of the same situation. The members who took the roles the first time may also play them the second time, taking the same roles or exchanging parts; or other members may become the actors in the second dramatization. The dramatization is again followed by group discussion.

The group may reach through its dramatizations and discussions some general conclusions regarding good and bad ways of dealing with the situation. The members find, however, that they cannot come up with any one best answer or the one right answer, for they soon learn that the situation varies sufficiently from one time to another to make variations in

responses necessary. The self-awareness and objectivity needed in dealing with any problem in human relations rather than the solutions to specific problems are the chief gains for the members from vicarious involvement in conflict situations through dramatizations and group discussions.

In sociodrama or role playing, students reveal much as well as learn much about themselves. Hence, it is important that participation in sociodrama always be voluntary and that the conflict situation used be one important to the students concerned and one representative of their problems in interpersonal relations. If during sociodrama the emphasis shifts from a participant's social role in the everyday world to his private role in his inner world, the sociodrama becomes a highly subjective form of psychodrama. This development is ordinarily not desirable in the class situation. Therefore, it is important that a student never be forced or even urged to play a role against his will and that the problem enacted always be one of which the students are fully aware and about which they are willing to disclose their feelings.

There are other variations of the sociodrama, in addition to the one sketched above, some of which are more useful than others in certain situations. For beginners in the use of sociodrama with students the best aids in the current literature are probably a book edited by Haas[11] and a chapter by Jennings[12] in the 1950 yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Through the Group Interview. Opportunity for group discussions of matters related to personal and social adjustment as well as to matters of educational and vocational adjustment may be offered through academic classes as well as through groups arranged specifically for group guidance purposes. However, when therapy as well as diagnosis and education is the purpose, the group should ordinarily be small, desirably less than ten. It is in essence a group interview situation, and the procedures used are very similar to those followed in counseling.[13]

Group interviews are often effective with students who are chronically truant or are regularly in academic difficulty and seemingly because of lack of effort or are frequently reported as being disturbers of the peace in the classroom or on the playground or are more or less consistently the nonconformists in some other way. In working with such students, the counselor finds the group interview useful for reinforcing counseling or, more often perhaps, for opening the way to the counseling of some stu-

[11] Robert B. Haas, editor, *Psychodrama and Sociodrama in American Education.* New York: Beacon House, 1949.

[12] Helen H. Jennings, "Sociodrama as Educative Process," in *Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools,* Chap. 16. Washington: National Education Association, 1950.

[13] For a discussion of the group interview see S. R. Slavson, *The Practice of Group Therapy,* Chaps. 1, 7–10. New York: International Universities Press, 1947.

dents—students who have been hard to reach because of their shyness or their porcupine-type of resistance to efforts to help them. When students find themselves free to say just what they do think and feel without any fear of punishment, reproof, or even mild restraints (frowns, tsk-tsks, etc.), they may be able to reveal their true feelings and attitudes and eventually to talk about their real problems. To do this, however, some students need more than a permissive atmosphere and an accepting and understanding worker. They also need the support of others. The presence of others who are their peers and who have problems too helps these students to express themselves, for some members have a catalytic effect upon others. Usually before long a lively discussion is under way.

Through his occasional questions and comments the worker aids clarification of feelings and helps the group members to give vent to their pent-up feelings of fear, hostility, failure, despair, and the like. By encouraging them to get things off their chests, he makes it easy for them to break through their anxieties. As the talk proceeds, the students start taking down their ego defenses and gradually overcome their inhibitions to talk about things that they ordinarily find embarrassing to talk about or that they had previously considered "forbidden topics."

Generally it is not long before the worker hears the voice of the student who usually finds talking very difficult, especially when a grownup is present, and the voice of the porcupine-type of student who previously has refused to talk. If not talking is caused by feelings of distrust and fear, the nontalker's hearing others tell of their dissatisfactions and distrusts and his noting the lack of recrimination oo the part of the adult help to dissolve his feelings of distrust and anxiety. If not talking is caused by feelings of isolation as well as by fear, such feelings are reduced when the student begins silently to identify himself with those who can verbalize easily and who do give free vent to their strong negative feelings. As the flow of talk draws the student more and more into sharing the experiences of the others, he loses his feelings of isolation, becomes less tense, and eventually discovers that he can say much more than "No," "Yes," and "Me too."

Adolescents ordinarily talk easily together even when they are not very well acquainted. In expressing their views, they activate one another; and at times they do not hesitate to break through one another's protective barriers. One, for example, will hoot good-naturedly at another one's rationalization. A moment later he may flush, but he will also grin when the other one quickly calls attention to one of his self-deceptions. Yet, when participation becomes too difficult because the talk bears too heavily on points that really hurt, the individual finds it easier to withdraw into his own thoughts during the group interview than during the counseling session; but he is less likely to take himself completely out of the situation.

He does not go away but remains; before long he may be again taking part in the discussion even though he may be only following it in silence.

As the discussion continues, the sharing widens and deepens. Information and ideas as well as feelings and points of view are shared. Ideas and suggestions previously offered by adults but rejected for purely emotional reasons are now listened to because offered by a peer, are seriously considered, and may be accepted as worth trying. The talk tends to be experience-centered, and some members learn from the experiences of the others. As the group members work out their feelings, explore their thoughts, and try out their ideas together, they gain insight regarding their behavior. They come to see in themselves some things already recognized in the others. They begin to develop new attitudes toward themselves and others, to perceive the true nature of their problems, to accept responsibility for some consequences of their behavior, and to see what needs to be done in the way of change of self and/or environment.

In group therapy, as in counseling, more than one session is usually needed. When the group interviews are combined with counseling and with group work of an activity nature, the students have a better opportunity than they do otherwise for gaining the self-understanding and the practice in social relations needed for developing the habits and attitudes that will help them to get along well with others and to deal constructively with their problems.

GUIDANCE THROUGH READING MATERIALS

Some students do not like to read and seem to benefit little from reading materials especially designed to help young people to develop their interests and to deal with their adjustment problems. Others like to read and seem to gain understanding and insight as well as information, motivation, and inspiration from their reading. Some writers, however, doubt that students really gain much understanding and insight through independent reading. They call attention to studies which indicate that in some areas students receive very little guidance from literature alone. A student's independent reading may, however, help to reinforce or to prepare him for the guidance received through other means. Then, too, it is debatable whether the investigations reported to date have been sufficiently extensive to warrant a general conclusion of "little or no guidance of real value through literature alone."

Because many students do gain information and some self-understanding, perhaps, as well as pleasure from their independent reading, the school library should provide students a good opportunity to explore their interests and adjustment problems through the literature. The library should contain occupational abstracts and monographs as well as books

on different occupations and occupational fields and other vocational matters. It should contain a wide variety of material on personal and social adjustment, as well as on educational and vocational adjustment; publications on hobbies and special interests, as well as biographies and publications on history, science, and other subjects. It should contain a great variety of guidance material on a great many topics, and the material should vary in reading difficulty from the simple to the difficult, for in their reading abilities students usually range from low to high.

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